DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 473 787 CS 511 772

TITLE	Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (85th, Miami, Florida, August 5-8, 2002). Minorities and Communication Division.
PUB DATE	2002-08-00
NOTE	217p.; For other sections of these proceedings, see CS 511 769-787.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Proceedings (021) -- Reports - Research (143)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF01/PC09 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Athletes; Baseball; Content Analysis; Decision Making; *Ethics; Higher Education; Immigration; *Journalism Education; Korean Americans; *Media Coverage; *Minority Groups; Olympic Games; *Racial Attitudes; Racial Factors; Television
IDENTIFIERS	Black Press; Los Angeles Riots 1992; September 11 Terrorist Attacks 2001

ABSTRACT

The Minorities and Communication Division of the proceedings contains the following 7 papers: "The Race Card and Ethical Reasoning: The Importance of Race to Journalistic Decision Making" (Renita Coleman); "Jesse Owens, A Black Pearl Amidst an Ocean of Fury: A Case Study of Press Coverage on The 1936 Berlin Olympic Games" (Pamela C. Laucella); "A Fall from Grace: The Framing of Imam Fawaz Damra by 'The Cleveland Plain Dealer'" (Yolanda D. Campbell); "Silencing the Voice of the Minority" (Minjeong Kim); "The Black Press and the Integration of Baseball: A Content Analysis of Changes in Coverage" (Brian Carroll); "Media Effect on Race and Immigration: Testing the Link" (Cleo Joffrion Allen); and "Color Blindsided in the Booth: An Examination of the Descriptions of College Athletes During Televised Games" (James A. Rada and K. Tim Wulfemeyer). (RS)

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CS 511 772

The Race Card and Ethical Reasoning: The Importance of Race to Journalistic Decision Making

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Paper submitted for consideration by the Minorities and Communication Division of AEJMC for the 2002 annual conference.

The Race Card and Ethical Reasoning: The Importance of Race to Journalistic Decision Making

ABSTRACT

A controlled experiment is used to investigate the effects of race of news subjects on journalists' ethical reasoning. In this study as well as in two previous studies reported here, the race of the people in the dilemmas had a highly significant effect on ethical reasoning. When participants knew the race because they saw photographs, their ethical reasoning scores were higher when the people in the ethical dilemmas were white than when they were African American.

THE RACE CARD AND ETHICAL REASONING:
THE IMPORTANCE OF RACE TO JOURNALISTIC DECISION MAKING

INTRODUCTION

Scholars, journalists, policy makers and the public have long been concerned that the news media portray certain ethnic and racial groups negatively and that results in audiences acquiring and reinforcing negative attitudes and stereotypes. African Americans especially have been negatively stereotyped in the media (Poindexter & Stroman, 1981; Gerbner, 1993; Entman, 1990, 1992, 1994). Researchers interested in exploring the roots of the journalistic decisions that lead to such portrayals, among other things, have examined, among many and myriad variables, the personal characteristics of journalists (Weaver, 1998; Flegel & Chaffee, 1971; Gist, 1993) including their own race (Weaver, 1998) and ethical reasoning (Westbrook, 1995; White & Pearce, 1991; White, 1996; Singletary, Caudill, Caudill & White, 1990). Studies done so far have examined these variables as individual differences of the *journalists;* no study could be found that connected the race of the people who are the subjects of news stories with journalists' ethical decisions about them. If the race of the journalist matters, then it should also matter as a variable of the people about whom the journalist is making a news judgment. If journalists as well as audiences hold stereotypical ideas about certain racial groups, and those ideas affect attitudes, then the race of the news subjects could also be expected to matter in journalists' attitudes and, therefore, news judgment. If, as Weaver says, "journalists' backgrounds and ideas have some relationship to what is reported" (Weaver, 1998, p. 2), and that news coverage matters in terms of public opinion, then it should be

worth exploring the effects of journalists' stereotypes and ideas about the race of the people in news stories on journalists' ethical decision-making. Specifically, it is the purpose of this study to systematically investigate with a controlled experiment the effects of the race of news subjects on journalists' ethical reasoning.

LITERATURE REVIEW

There is a large body of literature that has shown convincingly that African Americans are significantly more likely than Caucasians to be featured in stories about crime (Entman, 1990, 1992, 1994) and portrayed as lawbreakers on television news (Dixon & Linz, 2001). Studies have also identified other negative stereotypes of African Americans in the news media (Poindexter & Stroman, 1981; Gerbner, 1993; Sheley & Ashkins, 1981; Entman, 1990, 1992, 1994).

Many studies have shown the news media's influence in shaping public opinion (Gilliam et al., 1996; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Klite et al., 1997), including studies using the cultivation hypothesis and theories of stereotyping that show that negative portrayal of minorities in news is associated with the public's negative images of and attitudes toward minorities (Gerbner, 1969. 1990; Hamilton, Stroessner & Driscoll, 1994; Entman, 1994). For example, whites are more likely to see minorities as criminals (Gordon, Michels & Nelson, 1996; Hurwitz & Peffley, 1997) and be fearful of them (Moeller, 1989; St. John & Heald-Moore, 1996). Scholarship suggests that the media may play a central role in shaping and reinforcing racial attitudes (Entman, 1992, 1994; Jamieson, 1992).

Theoretical Foundations

The major theory in use today that explains the processes by which racial stereotyping occurs is schema theory. The vast field of schema research has shown that people possess stereotypical knowledge about their world. These "scripts" contain information about the actors or elements that make up events and stories (Abbott, Black & Smith, 1985). A schema has been described as "a cognitive structure that represents organized knowledge about a given concept or type of stimulus" abstracted from prior experience (Fiske & Taylor, 1984, p.139). These mental structures consist of sets of expectations about the ways in which stories or events usually unfold, how scenes usually look, or how certain types of people typically behave. Through previous interactions, people either discover or construct mental reflections of common regularities of these events, stories, and people (Mandler, 1984).

Research from these areas as well as the field of information processing indicates that people form these schemas, or commonsense, stereotypical models of their world, in order to help them cope with the flood of new information (Lippmann, 1922). They are forced to become "cognitive misers" to cope with this information onslaught (Graber, 1988; Fiske & Taylor, 1984). The main objective in schematic thinking is easy and efficient information handling in the service of everyday human interactions (Cohen, 1981).

Schemas are beneficial in that they help us handle information rather than become overwhelmed by it. But schemas can also be harmful when they are overgeneralized and negative, such as the kind about race that lead to stereotyping and prejudice.

Researchers have identified many different types of schemas including person schemas about the traits and goals of individuals (Fiske & Taylor, 1984; Mandler, 1984), and, recently, more specific schemas about race and gender (Grimes & Drechsel, 1996).

Schema theory is germane to this study not only because information about race is schematized, but also because people have been shown to have schemas for ethical problems that they use when making decisions about new ethical dilemmas. Using Kohlberg's (1969) six stages of moral development, which is based on the work of Piaget (1965) and is the most widely used theory of ethical reasoning in use today, James Rest and colleagues devised a quantitative instrument to measure a person's level of ethical development using schema theory as the underlying concept (Rest et al., 1999). In schema theory terms, the questions on the instrument, called the Defining Issues Test or DIT, activate "moral schemas" from long-term memory to help people understand and process new information that arises from reading the ethical problems on the instrument. The 12 "issue statements" the test presents activate moral schemas if the person has developed them. That is, if a person has acquired a schema for the highest stage of ethical reasoning, the issue statements at those states will activate it. Otherwise, lower ethical stage schemas are activated.

Rest et al. (1999) have also renamed Kohlberg's stages to more closely fit with the schema concept. What was once Kohlberg's lowest, or Preconventional stage is now called the Personal Interest Schema. The definition remains the same; at this stage or schema, the reasoner is concerned with his or her own welfare and acts that provide satisfaction to the self and others are "right," but others are considered only when their needs are in line with one's own. The Conventional stage – defined by conformity to the

expectations of society; helping others and gaining their approval drives an individual's actions at this level – is now termed the Maintaining Norms Schema. The Postconventional stage is still called Postconventional, but with the term "schema" substituted for "stage." This highest stage of moral development is defined by universal ethical principles that are the result of intellectual reasoning. Laws and rules are respected only so far as they appeal to universal ethical principles; rules are the result of intellectual reasoning and they should achieve full reciprocity – that is, the rules themselves should not favor one group over another. Right and wrong, and the value of rules and law, are determined by their appeal to mutuality and universality. Ethical reasoning at this level should treat people of all races the same.

Rest developed the DIT specifically to measure the moral development of professionals who face ethical dilemmas such as doctors, nurses, dentists, teachers, accountants, etc. So far, journalists have been tested in two studies (Westbrook, 1995; Coleman & Wilkins, 2002). Rest encourages adapting his instrument to represent ethical dilemmas specific to the professional domain being studied, and that is the approach used here and in the two previous studies of journalists.

If journalists indeed form schemas or stereotypes about racial groups, specifically African Americans, as studies have shown that members of the public do, and if these schemas affect journalists' attitudes toward people in these racial groups, then it is prudent to assume that journalists' schemas about race have some impact on their news judgment. If that is the case, then it is worthwhile to study the effects of race of news subjects on journalists' decisions about news content.

Media agenda setting

It is assumed that journalists' backgrounds and ideas have some relationship to what is reported (Weaver, 1998). Journalists' personal characteristics have been examined for their influence on news content decisions under the framework of media agenda setting. Such variables include the demographics of journalists such as race, age, and gender, their working conditions, professional values (Weaver 1998; Weaver & Wilhoit, 1996), political ideology (Flegel & Chaffee, 1971), and personal opinions (Gist, 1993). All have been shown to influence news judgments. Some studies have found that news subjects have an influence on journalists' ethical reasoning (Voakes, 1997; Singletary et al., 1990; White & Singletary, 1993; White & Pearce, 1991), but the race of the news subjects was not studied. No study to date could be found that examines the schemas of journalists toward race on how they make decisions about ethical questions when race is a factor.

Only one study could be found that manipulated race and measured the level of ethical reasoning employed by study participants (Locke & Tucker, 1988). That study, which did not use journalists as a population, found that under certain conditions the race of the people in the dilemmas could affect ethical reasoning. Similar to this research, the Locke & Tucker study used Rest's DIT to measure moral reasoning, and changed the race of the protagonists in the dilemmas; one group of participants received stories with all black protagonists, and the other group received stories with all white protagonists. Locke and Tucker's primary interest was in how participants of different races responded to ethical dilemmas where race was manipulated. They found that white participants did not differ significantly in their level of ethical reasoning when the dilemmas were about black

protagonists or white protagonists, but that black participants reasoned at significantly lower levels when the people in the dilemmas were black.

The conclusions of only one study can be considered tentative at best. The purpose of this study is to expand the body of knowledge on effects of story protagonists' race on ethical reasoning. Unlike the Locke and Tucker study, however, this study is not concerned with the race of the *participants* making the ethical decisions, but with the race of the *story protagonists.* It seems unlikely, given the enormous body of evidence on Caucasians' harsher attitudes toward African Americans regarding issues of crime, fear, attribution of responsibility, etc. (see Hurwitz & Peffley, 1997, for a summary), that their ethical reasoning levels would not differ significantly when the protagonists in the dilemmas were black than when they were white. Rather, the major hypothesis of this study is that racial schemas about African Americans activate lower levels of ethical reasoning when the people in stories about ethical dilemmas are African American than when they are Caucasian. Furthermore, some scholars maintain that even the people who belong to the stereotyped racial group hold the same schemas about people of that race as people of other races (Hall, 1980; Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke & Roberts, 1978); that is, even African Americans may be expected to hold negative stereotypes about African Americans, as appeared to be the case with the Locke and Tucker findings. Race of the study participants is irrelevant because it is not plausible that ethical reasoning differs due to race. Differences in ethical reasoning are better explained by variables such as age and education, as has been found in hundreds of studies of ethical reasoning over decades of research (Thoma, 1986). In virtually all studies of ethical development, age and education consistently offer the strongest correlations with moral reasoning (Rest, 1983, 1986,

1993). Since the participants in this study are of similar ages and education levels, participants' race was not measured.

Besides the one study that manipulated race and measured ethical reasoning, the closest research that could be found to this study are those that investigate prosocial behavior – which is similar to but not the same as ethical behavior. This research has shown that racial schemas are significantly predictive of behavior (Zimmerman & Levy, 2000).

Race and Other Perceptual Processes

While no other studies have investigated ethical reasoning specifically, many have explored the relationship of race to other cognitive and perceptual processes. Peffley and colleagues (Hurwitz & Peffley, 1997; Peffley, Shields & Williams, 1996) found that much of the public's opinion on crime is shaped by racial concerns. Even "race neutral" issues such as welfare are influenced by race (Peffley & Hurwitz, 1993).

Racial schemas are also associated with memory distortions that favor whites (Levy, 2000). For example, race influenced recall of news stories in two studies (Grimes & Drechsel, 1996; Lind, 1996). In the Lind study, people of different races found different issues to be salient in the same news stories. In the Grimes & Drechsel study, when a news story was negative, people were more likely to misremember the protoganist as black than white. The reason for this, the authors say, is people's schemas that associate race with roles. In that study, people consistently identified blacks as criminals and whites as victims, just as schema theory would predict. Results of the manipulation showed that when people saw stories that were inconsistent with their schemas – in this

case, when the victim in the prostitution story was black rather than white -- they were significantly more likely to incorrectly recall the race of the people in the story. They recalled the victim of the prostitution story as white, consistent with their schemas of victims as white and criminals as black, even though the TV story presented a black victim.

The Automaticity of Stereotyping

Research has shown that people do not have to have a conscious intent or even a biased opinion to exhibit bias (Stocking & Gross, 1989). Many studies in social psychology show subtle but persistent negative stereotypes of blacks that are readily evoked, even in people who claim not to be prejudiced (Devine, 1989; Gaertner & McLaughlin, 1983). The unconscious evoking of stereotyping is thought to occur automatically and inescapably, without awareness, although correction processes can also operate (Devine & Monteith, 1999). In their review of the literature on automaticity and control in stereotyping, Devine and Monteith (1999) conclude that such automatic stereotyping, while complicated, is "very efficient and likely to occur" (p. 355). Bargh (1999) reaches an even more pessimistic conclusion, suggesting that controlling automatic stereotyping is a formidable challenge and success is unlikely. Even when instructed to be objective, people tend to use information that confirms their initial beliefs (Stocking & Gross, 1989).

Entman and colleagues (Entman, 1990, 1992; Entman & Rojecki, 2000) have shown that the media do unconsciously convey a subtle type of stereotyping of minorities that he calls "modern racism." While these conclusions are based on content analyses, it

seems a safe generalization that the journalists who are producing this content must be practicing some type of racial automaticity in their decision-making to lead to this type of content. The implications of automatic and unconscious stereotype activation by journalists making an ethical decision are obvious and important; failure to recognize or correct bias in thinking can result in less than optimal ethical decisions which can hurt not only the individuals involved, but the entire journalism profession, and harm the goal of racial equality.

This study builds on two other studies that showed that race was an important predictor of ethical reasoning levels, and that when news subjects were African American, participants used significantly lower levels of ethical reasoning than when news subjects were Caucasian. Because the first two studies were not designed to investigate the influence of race on ethical reasoning, they had potential confounds that prevented a definitive statement about race. This study was designed to eliminate those confounds. Information about race was conveyed through photographs rather than text because the main hypothesis of the first study was that photographs would elevate participants' ethical reasoning (Coleman, 2002). That hypothesis was supported in both studies and is again tested here in the interest of developing more confidence in those findings.

Based on schema theory and research into stereotyping and ethical reasoning, and the finding in two previous studies that photographs affect ethical reasoning, the following hypotheses and one research question were tested:

> **H1: Participants who see photographs will use significantly lower levels of ethical reasoning when the photographs show African Americans in the ethical dilemmas than Caucasian.**

H2: Participants who see photographs will have significantly higher levels of ethical reasoning than participants who do not.

RQ1: What is the relationship between seeing photographs of African Americans and not seeing photographs on ethical reasoning?

METHODOLOGY

Because this study is interested in whether race has a cause and effect relationship on ethical reasoning, an experimental design was deemed the most appropriate method to investigate the effects of race of news subjects on ethical reasoning of journalists. The dependent measure of ethical reasoning was an adaptation of James Rest's Defining Issues Test. This instrument has been shown to reliably measure a person's level of ethical development using Kohlberg's six stages. The stimuli are four ethical dilemmas that may be encountered by working journalists. Participants must decide whether to run a photograph or not after someone associated with the subject in the photograph has requested it not be run. Participants in the control group received the stimulus materials in text form only. The treatment group received high-quality black-and-white photographs along with the text in order to examine the differences in ethical reasoning when the only manipulation is the addition of race via a visual image.

Since this research builds on two previous studies, a brief explanation of the results of the first two studies will be given before going into the methodology for the present study.

In the first two studies, each participant in the manipulation group received two stories about white people and two about non-white people. The control group received

the same stories but no photographs. The stories were about elder abuse, drugs, prostitution, and domestic violence or homelessness. There were significant differences in ethical reasoning scores between dilemmas about whites and non-whites (Study 1: $F = 33.92$, d.f. = 1, 193, $p < .01$. Study 2: $F = 37.128$, d.f. = 1, 101, $p < .001$) with participants showing higher levels of ethical reasoning toward whites than nonwhites (Study 1: Non-white M = 4.15, s.d. = 1.66; White M = 4.95, s.d. = 1.74. Study 2: White M = 5.26, s.d. = 1.61; Nonwhite M = 4.26, s.d. = 1.79). However, race was confounded with age and story subject because real photographs were used and were not digitally altered. Age and race were considered when photographs were selected in the sense that two photographs were chosen to show adults and two that showed children; two photographs were selected that represented Caucasians and two that represented non-Caucasians. However, the two photographs of children were both non-whites, and the two photographs of adults were both whites. In both studies, the effects of story topic (drugs, prostitution, elder abuse, domestic violence or homelessness) could have explained the findings.

This analysis does give some insight into the effect of race on ethical reasoning. It is more plausible that it was race that made a difference in ethical reasoning than age, especially since participants showed higher levels of ethical reasoning for adults than children, counter to what is intuitive.

Much previous research on race makes it seem plausible that race influenced the responses rather than some extraneous attribute, such as the social class of the people in the dilemmas or the degree of criminal behavior. However, this argument is less convincing than the age argument. One might reasonably say that it is the difference in social issues that lead to the ethical and racial data. For example, perhaps people have

schemas for certain types of social ills that drive their ethical reasoning and, in these studies, those are confounded with race. It could be that issues of drugs and prostitution evoke different schemas, thoughts, and emotions that result in different ethical processing than do issues of homelessness, domestic violence, and elder abuse. This experiment was devised to sort out the effects of race, age, and story topic. The confounds were eliminated by digitally altering the photographs so each issue had a photograph of white people and a photograph of black people. That is, there were photographs of the drug story with black people and photographs of the drug story with white people; photographs of the prostitution story with black people and photographs of the prostitution story with white people, etc.

The Present Study

This experiment was a 2x2x4 factorial design. The first factor, a between-subjects factor, was Photo Condition (with photo/no photo). Participants either saw photographs or did not. The second and third factors were within-subjects factors; Race (African-American/Caucasian) and Story (Prostitution/Homelessness/Elder Abuse/Drugs). All participants received all four stories, thus they acted as their own controls, which helped reduce effects due to individual differences. Likewise, participants who got photographs with their stories received two photographs of African Americans and two photographs of Caucasians. The order of which story issue they received with which race of people was controlled with a Latin Square design.

Race was controlled by digitally altering the skin tones and facial features in the photographs to provide one photograph of all four stories with people of each race; that

is, for the story about homeless families, there was a photograph of a white child and a photograph of a black child; for the story about prostitution, there was a photograph of white adults and a photograph of a black adult, etc. A manipulation check was performed by showing the photographs to four people, two white and two black, and asking "What race are the people in these photos?" No one answered with the incorrect race or said they couldn't tell, so our manipulation was deemed successful. Likewise, none of the participants in the experiment said they were confused about the race of the people.

In the No Photograph Condition, stories were written to be as racially ambiguous as possible. For example, the fictitious names of the subjects were written to be ethnically neutral so that participants would not be able to infer race.

In the conditions where photographs were presented, photographs that had won prestigious national awards (Pictures of the Year) were chosen so that quality of the photograph was not a concern to the participants in making their decisions. The researcher did not want them to say they would not run a photograph because of its poor quality, and none of the participants mentioned this after the experiment.

In the story about drugs, a journalist is working on a story about children of addicts who imitate their parents' drug use. The photojournalist has a compelling photograph of a 5-year-old girl with rubber tubing wrapped around her arm and a syringe pointed at her forearm pretending to inject IV drugs while her 3-year-old brother looks on. The photograph was taken in a public place and the children's parents have given the photographer permission to take pictures. After the photographs were taken, the children's grandmother calls the photographer and asks that the paper not run the photograph. Study participants must decide whether to run the photograph. In the with-photograph condition,

participants see the actual photograph of the children pretending to shoot drugs. The dilemma is patterned after an actual case (Borden 1996) where a newspaper is asked not to run a photograph. In that case, as in these dilemmas, a third party makes the request on behalf of the family, and, as in the no-photograph condition, journalists must make the decision without ever seeing the picture in question. In the no-photograph condition, participants read the exact same verbiage in order to optimize treatment equivalence and are asked to decide whether to run the photograph or not, but are not shown the photograph.

The story of elder abuse concerns a photojournalist's investigation of complaints of abuse and neglect of elderly patients by home health care providers. The photojournalist has a picture of an elderly man who is left emaciated after being neglected by his home health providers. After the man has seen the photograph and given the photographer permission to run it, his adult children call and ask that it not be used.

In the story about the teenage prostitute, the photojournalist is reporting about young girls who get pregnant, are abandoned by family and boyfriends, and are unable to negotiate the welfare system. In order to survive, they turn to prostitution, which often occurs in the one-room apartments they share with their small children. A social worker assigned to the young prostitute's case requests that the picture not be used.

In the story about homelessness, a family stays in a cheap, dirty motel frequented by prostitutes when the father can find work. The rest of the time, they live in their van. Dinner for the children is often a bowl of cereal, as the photograph shows. The family gave permission to take pictures of their children for publication. A teacher at the school the children sometimes attend asked that the paper not run it.

All of the story issues are real; the photographs used were taken by winners of the Pictures of the Year competition to accompany true stories.

To control for order effects, a Latin Square design was used (Campbell & Stanley, 1963). Participants were randomly assigned to treatment or control group and order.

Participants were journalism majors at a large university. Only journalism majors were recruited as participants in order to approximate the thinking process and socialization of this profession. Although there no doubt are differences between professional journalists and the aspiring journalists upon which this research is based, it is not unreasonable to suppose that professional journalists, too, would exhibit similar processing of ethical issues.

The main dependent variable in this study, level of ethical development, is operationalized by a paper-and-pencil instrument designed to work like the Defining Issues Test (Rest 1979), a self-report measure based on Kohlberg's stage theory of moral development.

Like the DIT, this instrument posed ethical dilemmas and asked respondents to rank 12 issue statements after each one according to how important each statement was in making a decision. The resulting score measured the importance that a person gives to postconventional reasoning. A high score on the DIT has been equated to higher moral development. The DIT has been given to thousands of subjects in its more than 25-year history and has been shown to be highly reliable and valid for an instrument of its kind. The DIT has been tested for validity in more than 400 published studies (Rest, Narvaez, Bebeau & Thoma, 1999).

Previous work done on the ethical reasoning of journalists used instruments constructed to resemble the DIT (Westbrook, 1995), and that was the approach used here as well. This was done so that ethical dilemmas specific to the journalism domain could be substituted instead of the standard DIT dilemmas. The DIT authors encourage domain-specific dilemmas for special populations because "more powerful trends might be obtained for selective groups with selective dilemmas" (Rest & Narvaez, 1998, p. 24).

RESULTS

Normal probability plots showed linearity for all variables, and skewness, kurtosis and standard deviations indicated normality. Of the 108 participants who completed the study, 53 saw photos and 55 did not. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 34 with a mean of 21 years. Women made up 65% of the sample.[1] The majority of the participants were upperclassmen; 43% were seniors and 21% juniors.

The mean ethical reasoning score for all participants on all dilemmas was 4.29 out of a range of 0 to 10 points. This was not statistically different from the mean scores of participants in either of the previous studies (Means of 4.55 and 4.75).

Hypothesis 1, participants who see photographs will use significantly lower levels of ethical reasoning when the photographs show African Americans than Caucasians, was supported. Using Repeated Measures ANOVAs, participants who knew the race of the news subjects because they saw it in photographs showed significantly lower levels of ethical reasoning when the dilemmas were about African American than Caucasians ($F = 4.73$, d.f. = 1, 52, $p < .05$). The mean ethical reasoning score about blacks was 4.3 (s.d. 1.9) and the mean ethical reasoning score about whites was 4.98 (s.d.

= 1.9). The race of the people in the photographs explained about 8.3% of the variance in ethical reasoning scores. (See Table 1)

TABLE 1
Repeated Measures ANOVA Results of Effect of Race on Ethical Reasoning

	Mean Ethics Score - Black Photos (s.d.)	Mean Ethics Score- White Photos (s.d.)	Mean Square	F value (d.f.)	Eta^2
Race	4.3 (1.93)	4.98 (1.91)	11.89	4.73* (1, 106)	.083

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$ N = 53

Although not a formal hypothesis, we also wanted to see if the story issue also made a significant difference in ethical reasoning, as it was considered a plausible alternative explanation in the previous study. In this study, story issue was controlled by having two photographs for each story – one of African Americans and one of Caucasians – therefore, any effects of race are real effects because story issue has been controlled. However, it is still likely that story issue does indeed make a difference. That question was tested with Repeated Measures ANOVAs and was found that story issue did indeed make a significant difference in ethical reasoning ($F = 6.94$, d.f. = 1, 106, $p < .01$). It explained about 6% of the variance in ethical reasoning scores. The mean ethical reasoning score for the story about children pretending to use drugs was 4.9 (s.d. 2.32); for elder abuse, the mean was 4.98 (s.d. 2.2); for homelessness the mean was 4.1 (s.d. - 2.48); and for prostitution the mean was 3.4 (s.d. = 2.5). (See Table 2).

TABLE 2

Repeated Measures ANOVA Results of Effect of Issue on Ethical Reasoning

	Mean Ethics Score - Photos (s.d.)	Mean Ethics Score - No Photos (s.d.)	Mean Square	F value (d.f.)
Issue			30.18	6.9*** (3, 318)
Drugs	4.9 (2.29)	3.95 (2.29)		
Homeless	4.7 (2.5)	3.55 (2.3)		
Prostitution	3.8 (2.67)	3.65 (2.35)		
Elder Abuse	5.15 (2.23)	4.8 (2.19)		

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$ N = 108

Planned post hoc comparisons showed that, for all participants in the study, the significant differences in ethical reasoning were between the stories about drugs and prostitution; drugs and elder abuse; homelessness and elder abuse; and prostitution and elder abuse. In the original two studies, it was thought that the issue was conflated with race since photographs of nonwhites accompanied the stories of drugs and prostitution, while photographs of whites accompanied stories of homelessness and elder abuse. This shows that issue could not have been entirely responsible for the effects on ethical reasoning in those earlier studies, since two of the four pairs that showed significant differences were between stories that had photographs of people of the same race (Drugs/Nonwhite and Prostitution/Nonwhite; Homeless/White and Elder Abuse/Nonwhite). (See Table 3).

TABLE 3

Paired Samples T-tests of Effect of Issue on Ethical Reasoning

	Mean Ethics Score (s.d.)	t value (d.f. = 107)
Drugs & Homeless	4.43 (2.33) 4.1 (2.5)	1.09
Drugs & Prostitution	4.43 (2.33) 3.73 (2.5)	2.29 *
Drugs & Elder Abuse	4.43 (2.33) 4.98 (2.2)	-2.15*
Homeless & Prostitution	4.1 (2.48) 3.37 (2.5)	1.26
Homeless & Elder Abuse	4.1 (2.48) 4.98 (2.2)	-3.13**
Prostitution & Elder Abuse	3.37 (2.5) 4.98 (2.2)	-4.51***

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$ N = 108

When results were examined by photo condition, participants who did not see photos so could not have known about the race of the people in the stories showed significantly different levels of ethical reasoning on three pairs of stories; Drugs and Elder Abuse; Homelessness and Elder Abuse; and Prostitution and Elder Abuse. For participants who did know race because they saw it in photographs, there were significant differences between two pairs of issues; those who saw photos and so knew race reasoned at significantly higher levels about the drug story than the prostitution story (Drug M = 4.9, s.d. = 2.29; Prostitution M = 3.8, s.d. = 2.67); and about the elder abuse story than the prostitution story (Elder M = 5.15, s.d. = 2.23; Prostitution M = 3.8, s.d. = 2.67). This leads to the conclusion that there is likely an interaction between race and story issue,

although it cannot be tested with these data because participants who did not get photographs did not know race. The interaction between race and issue was not a factor in this study because issue was controlled in the manipulation of photographs showing both races for all issues. Future studies are being designed to sort out the interaction of race and issue by providing information about race in the text for participants who do not receive photos.

Hypothesis 2, participants who see photographs will have significantly higher levels of ethical reasoning than participants who do not see photos, was again supported ($F = 5.58$, d.f. = 1, 106, $p < .01$). The mean ethical reasoning score for participants who saw photos was 4.65 (s.d. 1.56); the mean ethical reasoning score for participants who did not see photos was 3.95 (s.d. 1.48). Seeing photographs explained about 4.5% of the variance in ethical reasoning scores (See Table 4). This is the third time this result has been found using three different populations in two different regions of the country.

This analysis combined with the results of race shows that photographs make a difference in ethical reasoning in the general sense, but it is not just the presence of photographs alone; when the pictures show white people, then ethical reasoning is elevated. This interaction effect is hinted at in these data but cannot be formally tested because participants in the no-photograph condition did not receive the race manipulation; future studies will provide race information in the text to test this interaction.

TABLE 4

Repeated Measures ANOVA Results of Effect of Photos on Ethical Reasoning

	Mean Ethics Score - Photos (s.d.)	Mean Ethics Score- No Photos (s.d.)	Mean Square	F value (d.f.)	Eta^2
Photo Condition	4.65 (1.56)	3.95 (1.48)	12.91	5.58** (1, 106)	.045

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$ N = 108

RQ1: To explore the research question about the relationship between seeing photographs of African Americans versus not seeing photographs at all, a one-way ANOVA was performed on the overall mean ethical reasoning scores of participants who did not see photos and the ethical reasoning scores about blacks for participants who did see photos. The results show that there is no statistically significant difference between seeing photographs, even though photographs have the ability to elevate ethical reasoning overall, and seeing photographs of African Americans. The mean overall ethical reasoning score for participants who did not see photographs was 3.95 (s.d. = 1.48). The mean ethical reasoning score about African Americans for those who saw photographs was 4.3 (s.d. 1.9). Even though the ethical reasoning score about African Americans was higher with photographs, it was not significantly higher than not seeing photographs at all ($F = 1.16$, d.f. = 1, 106, $p = .28$). Seeing photographs does significantly increase participants level of ethical reasoning, but that difference is not significantly better than seeing no photographs at all when the people in the pictures are African American.

DISCUSSION

In this study as well as in two previous studies, the race of the people in the dilemmas had a highly significant effect on ethical reasoning. When participants saw photographs, their ethical reasoning scores were higher when the people in the ethical dilemmas were white than when they were African American. Seeing pictures of African Americans did increase the level of participants' ethical reasoning, but it was not significantly different from not seeing any photographs at all – the group with the lowest level of ethical reasoning in this study.

Race accounted for the largest amount of variance in ethical reasoning scores in this study – 8.3%. The story issue also made a significant difference in ethical reasoning, but it explained less of the variance than race – 6.1% for issue and 8.3% for race.

Only one other study has manipulated race and measured ethical reasoning (Locke & Tucker, 1988), and the major conclusion from that study agrees with this work – that people's race can affect the ethical reasoning of those making decisions about them. And, when the people in the ethical dilemma are African American, those making decisions tend to use lower levels of ethical reasoning.

This finding is in line with research showing that race matters. Time and again, studies have shown that whites have harsher attitudes and more negative opinions about blacks than about whites. While ethical reasoning has not been among the variables measured in race studies, it should come as little surprise that when people make ethical choices about non-whites they use lower levels of ethical reasoning than they do when making ethical decisions about other whites.

Racial schemas, or stereotypes, have been shown to influence everything from attribution of responsibility, to punishment, to memory. Furthermore, such stereotypes are invoked automatically, even in people who claim not to be prejudiced. Such effects are almost subliminal in that people lack critical awareness of the ways in which they may be affected unconsciously by biases, and then misattribute the source of their attitudes by assigning them to something else.

Some researchers have indicated that subliminal perception is a visual, right-brain activity, and thus we may be particularly susceptible to prejudice through visual processing (Barry, 1997). This would seem to be a reasonable explanation for what is going on in the two studies here; participants' racial stereotypes are unconsciously and automatically evoked, and their ethical reasoning suffers. Presenting information about race via photographs may well be expected to affect people differently than presenting information about race via text.

Of course, this does not mean that race is the only driving force behind ethical reasoning; many other explanations may be offered. For example, the story issue is one of the most plausible of these explanations, and it was important in this study, although less so than race. It is very likely that people have schemas for certain types of social ills that affect their ethical reasoning. It could be that issues of drugs and prostitution evoke different schemas, thoughts, and emotions that result in different ethical processing than do issues of homelessness and elder abuse. This study has shown that story issue does, indeed, have a significant effect on ethical reasoning, although less so than race. But, with story issue controlled while only race was manipulated in this experiment, it cannot be

determined if there is an interaction between issue and race. Future studies are underway to explore this relationship.

In fact, race is often conflated with social issues. Crime and welfare, for example, have been shown to be racially coded so that politicians can play upon people's unexpressed racial animosities without mentioning race explicitly (Edsall & Edsall, 1992). Peffley's work (Peffley & Hurwitz, 1993; Hurwitz & Peffley, 1997, Peffley, Shields & Williams, 1996) has reached the same conclusion; that people's opinions, especially about crime, are shaped by race even when the issue is supposedly race neutral. Other scholars have identified certain types of issues as primarily white issues or primarily black issues. In the realm of drugs, for example, crack is associated with blacks, cocaine with whites (Reeves & Campbell, 1994; Meier, 1994). As one scholar puts it, "Quite clearly, 'black crime' does not make people think about tax evasion or embezzling from brokerage firms. Rather, the offenses generally associated with blacks are those. . . involving violence. . . ." (Hacker, 1995, p. 188). Furthermore, the evoking of racial schemas is undeniably unconscious, even in people who feel they harbor no prejudice (Devine, 1989; Devine & Monteith, 1999; Bargh, 1999). The issues used in these studies may indeed be conflated with race; the stories about drugs and prostitution could be expected to be associated with nonwhites in a typical schema, and the stories about nonviolent issues - home health care workers abusing elderly patients and homeless families - would be expected to be associated with whites. It will likely be difficult to separate the effects due to race from those due to issue when race and issue are so intertwined. Overall, however, the present data fit with other findings alleging reliance on racial schemas when processing information about social issues.

Obviously, not all thinking about ethics is rooted in racism. But, race is one avenue that has not previously been explored for its effect on ethical reasoning.

CONCLUSION

Decades of research into ethical reasoning have yet to reveal the processes by which it occurs. All we know for sure is that age and education are the best predictors of higher levels of ethical development. The psychological processes responsible for age and education's effect on ethical reasoning are still unknown. It would be ideal to pin down the exact mechanisms responsible for better quality ethical reasoning, but it is probably unrealistic to expect to do so with something so elusive and intangible as moral reasoning.

Most researchers are content with identifying unknown variables that have an impact on ethical reasoning rather than worrying about the deep-seated psychological processes responsible for them. In that light, this research has fulfilled its main goal; it has identified a previously undiscovered variable that affects ethical reasoning – race. Another ingredient has been uncovered that journalists can incorporate into their repertoire of devices for helping them make the best ethical decisions possible. While some scholars believe that racial stereotyping is automatic (Bargh, 1999), others are actively pursuing lines of research into how people can become more aware of these tendencies and learn to control and correct them (Devine & Monteith, 1999). With this newfound knowledge of how information about race affects the ethical reasoning of potential journalists, the findings from successful studies on how to control stereotyping

can be brought to journalists' attention so that they may learn systematic ways to improve their ethical reasoning.

This study has concerned itself with the ethical reasoning of journalists, for that is one of the most pressing problems in journalism today. Never have the media been so criticized for their ethical behavior; factors that affect journalists' ethical reasoning, and thus behavior – whether for good or ill – are of the utmost importance. But beyond the ethical reasoning quality of journalists is the media's ability to affect the thinking and reasoning of the audience. If journalists' ethical reasoning about some groups is of lower quality than about others, then the perpetuation of the media's portrayal of those groups as negative will persist. The media are responsible for racial portrayals that, by virtue of their subtlety, today are even more sinister than the overt racism of the past (Entman, 1990, 1992). Such portrayals reinforce racial stereotypes in all of society and make the elimination of racism in favor of tolerance, open-mindedness, equality, and universal justice - all of which describe the principled stages of ethical reasoning - an increasingly elusive goal.

FOOTNOTE

1. Carol Gilligan (1982) charged that Kohlberg's theory of ethical development was biased against women. She argued that women develop differently than men, placing more emphasis on caring for others. Kohlberg revised his theory to include an ethic of care in his highest stage of moral development, but with mixed success; women typically scored lower than men on Kohlberg's Moral Judgment Instrument (MJI). James Rest's DIT, while based on Kohlberg's theory, does a better job of fairly representing women. For one thing, Rest included women when he developed the DIT; Kohlberg used only men in developing his MJI. Since then, more than 90% of studies using the DIT have found no significant gender differences (Rest, 1979). Other studies that do find a difference show women consistently scoring significantly higher than men (see Thoma, 1986 for meta-analysis). In this study, in fact, women scored higher than men on ethical reasoning (M for women = 4.39; M for men = 4.12), but the difference was not statistically significant.

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JESSE OWENS, A BLACK PEARL AMIDST AN OCEAN OF FURY:

A Case Study of Press Coverage on

The 1936 Berlin Olympic Games

Presented in the Minorities and Communication Division of the
Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication's
National Conference: August 9, 2002 in Miami, Florida

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Abstract

This research examines the mainstream and black press' coverage of 1936 Olympic gold medallist Jesse Owens. It compares Grantland Rice's articles with journalists at the New York Amsterdam News to elucidate the interplay between journalists, media content, and 1930s culture.

While all recognized Owens' talent and gracious deportment, Rice's evasive, descriptive, and stylistic approach focused on surrounding scenes and racial stereotypes. The journalists from the New York Amsterdam News remained passive yet resolute in emphasizing Owens' place in history while denouncing Adolph Hitler and Nazism.

> Jesse Owens, the son of a sharecropper and grandson of a slave achieved what no Olympian before him had accomplished. His stunning victories and achievement of four gold medals at the 1936 Olympic games in Berlin has made him the best remembered of all Olympic athletes. His outstanding performance during the 1936 Olympic games not only discredited heinous claims of the dictator, Adolph Hitler, it also affirmed that individual excellence rather than race or national origin, distinguishes one man or woman from another.[1]

While Olympic track star Jesse Owens received accolades and such praise later in life, W.E.B. Dubois' notion that "race is the dividing line of the 20th century" proved apropos to many black Americans and specifically Jesse Owens during this epoch.[2] According to sports sociologist Douglas Kellner, "The extent to which the spectacles of sports have promoted the interests of African Americans and people of color has not yet been adequately understood," but one thing is certain.[3] The confluence of race and sport in America long has dominated sports discourse and justifies attention.[4]

This exploration seeks to disclose that sports texts' meanings expand beyond "archetypal heroic myths" of the sports arena to provide insight on cultural values.[5] Cultural historian James Carey suggests that when examining a journalistic account as a cultural form it should be viewed as a "creative and imaginative work, a symbolic strategy."[6] By studying journalism history we study the diverse ways individuals "have grasped reality" and the actors within.[7]

Communication and cultural historian Marion Marzolf emphasized past media content, the journalists who produced discourse, and the "fit between these and the cultural context and society in which they existed."[8] Through content assessment, or the "extensive reading of great quantities of newspapers, using the historian's method of reading, sifting, weighing, comparing and analyzing the evidence in order to tell the story," scholars can gain a glimpse into culture, its complexities, and intimate stories of life.[9] According to Marzolf, "Journalists' writings can be analyzed for literary style and form, and can be considered for the values and choices presented."[10] While content assessment can not prove newspaper effects,[11] applying it to articles on the Berlin Olympic Games will elucidate 1930s culture, its depictions

of race, and specifically Jesse Owens and the articles' potential significance on "information, values and opinions."[12]

The purpose of this study is to explore legendary sports journalist Grantland Rice's coverage of Jesse Owens and to compare and contrast his writings with sports journalists from the black press. Owens won four gold medals in track and field at the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games including the 100-meter dash, the 200-meter dash, the long jump, and the 400-meter relay.[13] In total, Owens surpassed nine Olympic records and tied two.[14] Since Grantland Rice has been touted as the "the first important American sportswriter"[15] with more than sixty-seven million words, 22,000 columns, 7,000 sets of verse, 1,000 magazine articles,[16] and books published in fifty-three years; an analysis of his discourse on Owens will not only explore the inherent meanings of his texts, but will reveal one prominent mainstream sports journalist's perceptions of athletes and race during pre-World War II America.[17]

To delve into the longstanding issue of race, sport, and Jesse Owens, the following questions warrant analysis:

- How did sports journalists use language to create, attribute, or sustain the persona of Jesse Owens during the 1936 Olympic Games?
- Specifically, what characterizations did Grantland Rice and journalists from the black newspaper the New York Amsterdam News use to describe a prominent athletic event like the Olympic Games and distinguished athlete Jesse Owens?
- And finally, how did Grantland Rice's depictions of Jesse Owens differ from his colleagues at the New York Amsterdam News?

Jesse Owens: The Person, the Athlete, and the Hero

While many know Owens only from his Olympic feats, he overcame much adversity to attain athletic and personal success. James Cleveland Owens was born in Oakville, Alabama in 1913 to Henry Cleveland and Mary Emma Owens.[18] The couple raised nine children in a "sharecropper's shanty" and worked in the cotton fields of this poverty-stricken town.[19] After World War I when Owens was eight, the family migrated north like many black Americans and headed for Cleveland, Ohio.[20]

At Fairmount Junior High School Owens met one of his mentors, Charles Riley,[21] a white coach and physical education teacher of Irish descent.[22] He taught Owens to run like his feet "were moving over the cinders . . . like the ground was a burning fire" he "didn't want to touch, a full stride in front of all the runners."[23] When Riley introduced him to Antwerp Olympic 100-meter gold-medallist, Charley Paddock, Owens exclaimed that he wanted to be just "like Charley Paddock."[24] Even though Paddock was white, Owens also dreamed of winning an Olympic gold medal.[25]

Owens attended Cleveland East Technical High School and here became a full-fledged "track star."[26] Under the guidance of Edgar Weil, Owens tied the world record of 9.4 seconds in the 100-yard dash and set a new world record of 20.7 seconds in the 220-yard dash his senior year at the National Interscholastic Championships.[27]

After graduating high school Owens entered Ohio State University where he endured segregated conditions and worked part-time jobs to pay for his education.[28] Larry Snyder, another "white man who was color blind,"[29] coached him to a "break out" Saturday in Michigan at the Big Ten Championships.[30] According to Owens, "All the books say my 'best' day were those days in Berlin. It isn't so. By far my finest one was May 25, 1935."[31] Despite a back injury, Owens broke three world records and tied one in less than an hour.[32] In all, he surpassed records in the 220-yard sprint, long jump, and 220-yard hurdles and tied the record in the 100-yard dash.[33] His broad jump record lasted twenty-four years and was nearly two inches longer than his jump at the Berlin Olympic Games.[34]

After his sophomore year at Ohio State, Owens competed in the Berlin Olympic Games and captured world recognition.[35] He later equated the uniqueness of his life to a "patchwork quilt," saying his life was "wrapped up, summed up—and stopped up by a single incident," the "clash with Adolf Hitler in the 1936 Olympics."[36] Owens wrote, "The lines were drawn then as they had never been drawn before, or since. The Germans were hosting the Games and, with each passing day, were coming to represent everything that free people have always feared."[37] After Owens won the broad jump, he exclaimed:

> I really thought it all *had* come true. *He* [Hitler] wasn't even in his box glaring at the end. He couldn't take it and had left. It was as if I'd destroyed Hitler and his Aryan-supremacy, anti-

> Negro, anti-Jew viciousness. The good guys had won. In fact, not just 'the good guys,' but the best possible 'guy'---an American Negro.[38]

After Owens' spectacular Olympic accomplishments, The Associated Press (AP) awarded him their "Athlete of the Year Award" in 1936.[39] Nevertheless his post-Olympic experience proved disheartening. Owens could not support himself and "was just one more black man trying to make it in a white man's country."[40] He left Ohio State before his senior year and signed a contract with Consolidated Radio Artists of New York City in 1937.[41] Here he toured with a black twelve-piece band, tap-danced, and later raced horses and trains, quickly fading into obscurity.[42]

However, in the early 1950s Owens moved to Chicago and once again "catapulted to eminence in the American mainstream."[43] He served as executive director of the South Side Boys Club in Chicago and Secretary of the Illinois State Athletic Commission, appeared on radio and television shows, directed his own public relations firm, and served on the Eisenhower Administration's "People-to-People" Program, which promoted understanding between Americans and individuals worldwide.[44]

Owens' financial woes and indebtedness plagued him for years[45] and in 1965, Owens pled *nolo contendere* to the government's indictment for not filing tax returns from 1959-1962.[46] Nevertheless in 1976, President Ford awarded him the highest civilian honor in the United States, the Medal of Freedom. This accolade symbolized his feats in overcoming adversity in his fight for racial equity in sport.

While W.E.B. Dubois responded to prejudice with aggression, Owens instead reacted with acceptance and accommodation like his hero Booker T. Washington.[47] As Donald Spivey professed, "When Owens finally became economically secure in the late 1960s, he became an ardent supporter of the status quo and a foe of the Black Athletic Revolution."[48] Owens died of lung cancer on March 31, 1980.[49]

Social Darwinism, Nazi Logic, and Native Modernism in the Early Twentieth Century

This research expands upon literature written about race, sport, and particularly Jesse Owens and the Berlin Olympic Games, and delves into perceptions and media portrayals of black athletes. It especially draws on work from William J. Baker, Edward Caudill, Jon Entine, William Benn Michaels, Laurel Davis and Othello Harris, Ben Carrington, Richard Mandell, Charles Fountain, and Norman Katkov.

The rise of science at the beginning of the twentieth century helped launch the "scientific explanation for inferiority."[50] Many white individuals proclaimed the Social Darwinian theory of evolution as a means for discrimination against blacks.[51] "The evolutionary process was characterized by a struggle and conflict in which the stronger, more advanced . . . would naturally triumph over the inferior weaker . . . peoples."[52]

According to Caudill, Germans legitimized racism as an important goal of science and their Nazi race-science became part of the nationalist ideology.[53] Nazi logic had the following philosophy: "Nations struggle for space, just as animals struggle for survival . . . the stronger nations, like the stronger animals, survive, while the weaker ones die. Alien or non-Aryan races . . . threaten German vitality by making the race weaker; Germans are obligated to eradicate inferior races in order to assure survival of the superior race. These natural laws are also the laws of God."[54]

Here in the United States, the "utopian myth of racial purity" rarely appeared in mainstream publications.[55] However, individuals supported disparate ideas from Nazism's connection of "race, science, and society."[56] The Catholic World wrote about the "scientific justification" of races and stated that Hitler's "actions were not and are not the actions of an irresponsible wild man . . . rather, Herr Hitler is ruthlessly and quite logically following out the Nazi theory of race and blood . . . Hitler is quite reasonable and logical in so far as he sticks to his program of racial purification."[57]

Michaels studied the changing notions of identity and Americanization, primarily focusing on post-World War I America. He claimed that the social movement of nativism and the aesthetic movement of modernism united during the 1920s to unravel "linguistic, national, cultural, and racial" identities.[58] During this era of cultural pluralism, America experienced a "rewriting of race and nation"[59] and culture was a means of rethinking and protecting the fundamental outlines of racial identity.[60] According to Michaels, "What makes blacks black is rather the shared experience of being visually or cognitively identified as black by a white racist society, and the punitive and damaging effects of that identification."[61]

The media contributed to this "racial logic" and presented negative portrayals of blackness in American culture, debasing even the highest of black athletes.[62] In the 1920s and 1930s black males were often portrayed as "Uncle Tom" or "Sambo" and the black women as "Mammies."[63] Despite the successes of black athletes like Owens and Joe Louis, sports journalists' coverage reflected the times and reinforced prejudices.[64]

The media often fortified the stereotype of African-Americans as "natural athletes" possessing a "superior physiology."[65] Davis and Harris defined stereotype as "a generalization about a category of people that is negative or misleading."[66] The researchers contended, "For much of the history of the United States, people openly stereotyped African descendants as ignorant, lazy, happy-go-lucky, savage and animal-like."[67] This signified deeper cultural meanings.

According to Carrington:

> Racial signification of sport means that sports contests are more than just significant events . . . They act as a key signifier for wider questions about identity within racially demarcated societies in which racial narratives about the self and society are read both into and from sporting contests that are imbued with racial meanings.[68]

Jesse Owens and the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games

Overall, American black athletes secured six individual gold medals and eight total in track and field, accounting for eighty-three of the Americans' total 167 points.[69] According to Entine, Owens and other black athletes of the 1936 Olympic Games "had made a statement with their victories that no one could ignore."[70] Following eighteen lynchings in 1935 and eight in 1936 Mandell concurred by writing, "All of these individuals, but Jesse Owens particularly, made two contributions to the world in 1936. They made the general, abstract one of gnawing away at the frontiers of human accomplishment . . . The Olympics and sporting competitions exist partly for this purpose. Another contribution was that they all lifted their race a little from imposed obscurity and degradation."[71]

Fountain also discussed the importance of the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games and Rice's coverage of Owens briefly in his biography of Rice. He wrote:

> Americans found themselves confronted with the uncomfortable choice between two prejudices—their longstanding racial bias and their continued dislike and distrust of the Germans . . . for the most part nationalism prevailed over racism . . . Even those Americans who suffered from a less-virulent strain of his poisonous notion of Aryan superiority found themselves in the unlikely position of cheering for a black man.[72]

Nevertheless, Fountain wrote that "the race of Jesse Owens and his black teammates was a factor in every story American journalists wrote and when the black runners emerged as dominant athletes of the Games, writers felt compelled to mention race whenever a white American athlete won a medal."[73] Fountain noted Rice's reinforcement of stereotypes, yet believed "this glibness was offset in part by other comments."[74] While Rice seemed uncomfortable with race, he believed the positive reactions to Owens reinforced the "unifying power of sport."[75] Fountain concluded:

> Jesse Owens' place in this could not be denied. His accommodating nature . . . allowed him to be accepted, by his teammates, by the press, by white America. In a competition staged to showcase a society built upon racism, Jesse Owens' inspiring gifts as an athlete, and his humble yet noble bearing as a man, prompted white America to confront their shame.[76]

Mandell further expounded on Owens' demeanor writing, "As a superior individual who was a self-effacing gentleman, Jesse Owens was both a paragon and a refutation" and a "credit to his race."[77] Katkov's intimate interview with Owens for Sport magazine also reinforced the perception of a "shy" man with a "humble smile."[78] He resounded the importance of Owens' feats when he wrote:

> You have to think of the 1936 Olympics as Jesse Owens's . . . Jesse Owens emerged as the only superman in the Olympic Stadium. Even the huge German crowds applauded in wonder as Owens flew across the finish line with a burst of speed that no human being could equal.[79]

A Sample of Stories on Owens and the 1936 Olympic Games

While scholars offered insight on the 1936 Olympic Games and Jesse Owens, a detailed analysis of sports journalists' articles in their entirety will expand their research and further clarify the importance of

their stories. Word choice, language, tone, and content were specifically targeted, following Marzolf's model of content assessment and the fit between content, culture, and society.

This investigation addresses the contradictory and complexities of race and athlete Jesse Owens as described in ten of Grantland Rice's nationally syndicated columns on August 2-6 and August 8-12, 1936. These represent all of Rice's newspaper columns pertaining to Owens during the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games. Additionally, Rice's article on August 27, 1936, "Germans Study Makeup of Negro," though retrospective, will supplement the sample due to its relevance in describing Jesse Owens and race.

In addition, seven articles from the third largest black newspaper, the New York Amsterdam News,[80] will complete the sample. Using stories from a New York newspaper promotes uniformity since Rice worked as a New York journalist for forty years at such newspapers as the New York Tribune[81] and New York Herald Tribune,[82] and enjoyed a thirty-five year relationship with Colliers,[83] where he wrote more than 500 articles and his "All-America" football selections from 1925 to 1947.[84]

Additionally, the Harlem weekly publicized its "first-hand" information from correspondent William Charles Chase.[85] Chase's articles and any columns pertaining to Owens were analyzed to coincide with Rice's columns.

Jesse Owens as Portrayed by Grantland Rice, William Charles Chase, Randy Taylor, and Roi Ottley

Owens ascended to the pinnacle of success at the Berlin Olympic Games[86] as the first track and field competitor since 1900 to win three gold medals in one Olympics.[87] While newspapers reported on his athletic prowess and extraordinary feats, did they concede to racial stereotypes and marked language and if so, did this signify cultural attitudes and perspectives?

Rice began his August 2 article by referencing the broader implications of the Olympic Games.

> Contrary to Kipling, the tumult and the shouting never die, the captains never depart. Just 22 years ago this day the world went to war. On this 22nd anniversary of the outbreak of that great conflict I passed through more than 700,000 uniforms on my way to the Olympic Stadium—brown shirts, black guards, gray-green waves of regular army men and marines—seven massed military miles rivaling the mobilization of August 1, 1914.[88]

Rice alluded to Kipling and progressed into an intimate description and comparative analysis between the Olympic Games' Opening Ceremony and World War I.[89] He tried to recreate the scenes of World War I through imagery and stylistic devices like alliteration with his use of "men," "marines," "massed military miles," and "mobilization."[90]

Rice embellished with more stylistic devices by expounding on the audience's receptions of nations. First he wrote, "The nations giving the Nazi salute received a thundering welcome from the 110,000 spectators massed in the stadium."[91] Rice substituted "nations" for the individual athletes with metonymy, and followed with hyperbole in the exaggerated "thundering welcome."[92] Using hyperbole, Rice contrasted the fans' "ear-crashing roar" and "local loyalty" exhibited for those federations with the meager applause for Great Britain and the United States.[93]

Rice wrote, "The British team marched stolidly past Hitler's box . . . and their reception by the crowd was fainter than a southern zephyr. Later the United States team, 357 strong . . . received an even fainter demonstration from the crowd than did Britain."[94] In these instances, Rice used the metaphors of "lone wolves" and "zephyr" to animate his piece and lure readers through imagery and description.

Rice detailed everything from Hitler's 4:00 entry and the "gray" and "threatening" weather to the incoming march of "50 nations presenting all the colors of the rainbow from Germany's 427 entries to Haiti and Costa Rica with one each."[95] He touted the event as "one of the most impressive sights of sport or war."[96]

While the article mainly addressed the Games' political implications, it referenced race in its final paragraph that read, "Anyway, the big test starts Sunday on track and field, where the answer will be given in what looks to be the greatest Olympics ever held, so far as color and competition go. I still believe the United States will dominate the military-athletic pageant."[97] Rice established ethos by granting insider information and foretelling the American athletes' successes and domination.

In Rice's August 3 article, he used persuasive appeals to invent and bolster his argument. He began by hyping the German fans' ardent passion in an "uproarious opening day" of "well over a hundred thousand persons."[98] He introduced Owens in the third paragraph, relying on personification[99] when he wrote, "The

real opening day finished at top speed."[100] Rice continued by writing, "Jesse Owens broke the world's record for the 100-meter run in the second heat at 10.2, though it was subsequently ruled unofficial on account of favoring winds and merely counted as equaling the 1932 Olympic record of 10.3 made by Eddie Tolan."[101]

While Rice offered a detached perspective towards the issue, he still praised Owens' "marvelous running" as the "day's big feature," adding his prediction that "it was the forerunner of coming triumph."[102] Rice established credibility by offering his opinions in an authoritative and ceremonial manner. After he reported the results of other track and field events, he concluded by reinforcing his premise and ending on a high note when he wrote:

> Germany's opening day, showing two Olympic first place flags, has Berlin at the highest pitch, with the greatest gayety, since pre-war days . . . The outbreak of national feeling is beyond belief. The days ahead presage even more excitement and color in view of the opening day's results. The winning of the home team is always a big event, but Owens, Towns and Hardin, plus the pole vaulters will soon be heard from.[103]

Throughout the article, Rice maintained a detached stance towards Owens and race by exhibiting cautious optimism in future competitions.

Conversely, the August 4 article began:

> The heritage of the cotton fields and canebrakes of the South and the foothills of the Ozark mountains of Missouri dominated the second day of the Olympic show. Herr Hitler was alternately elated and depressed at the changing tides of Nordic supremacy. On the male side it was a darktown parade as Jesse Owens equaled the Olympic record by winning the finals in the 100-meter run on a slow track after a day of rain and cold wind with Metcalfe second and Ossendarp of Holland third.[104]

Rice added, "Hitler was rooting for the Germans like a Yale sophomore at a Harvard game."[105] His lead stressed race with cotton fields and cane breaks comprising the first sentence and "darktown" the second.[106] The similes and analogies supplemented the descriptive language. Rice then dismissed the

American shot putters and hammer throwers by calling them "third grade and outclassed."[107] Rice called Owens "African" and then called a Canadian runner "Negro."[108]

In Rice's August 5 column, he asserted that "Glenn Hardin, the Mississippi hurdler, startled the German multitude by proving that the United States had a white man who could win."[109] The lead paragraph read: "Tuesday was a dark, raw day of rain and wind, but it looked even darker to the fifty other nations participating in the Olympic games as our Ethiopian troops continued their deadly fire."[110] Later in the article Rice wrote:

> Owens had been like a wild Zulu running amock. He has started six times, in the 100-meters, the 200-meter heats and the broad jump, and has broken the Olympic record four times and has equaled the record in his other two starts. He has been deadly poison to Nordic supremacy, not only by his victories but by the best form and smoothest style that coaches from all over the world have ever seen.[111]

Rice then complimented Owens when he stated, "He will be remembered among the outstanding Olympic artists of all time. He stopped to applaud Don Lash, qualifying in the 5,000-meter run, a few seconds before making his record jump."[112] In this instance, Rice elevated Owens by considering him one of the best Olympic athletes of all time and praised his sportsmanship, rather than using a racial reference.

Rice also nicknamed and stereotyped other Olympic competitors, calling Woodruff a "Pittsburgh Negro," Helen Stephens the "Ozark flash," and Gisela Mauermayer the "German girl."[113] In the latter part of the article Rice wrote, "The Negroes are just better runners and jumpers, with more to come later on. The collapse of the American whites has been terrific. Towns, the Georgia hurdler, promises he will come to the white rescue."[114]

Rice continued, "Apparently the race here is to the swift, and the black and sepia are too strong. The white man's burden has broken the white man's back as far as America is concerned. The United States would be outclassed except for our black skinned frontal and flanking fire."[115] Rice never once assimilated black athletes as Americans and the "frontal and flanking fire's" alliteration called attention to

one of Rice's racial references.[116] His comments also implied biological differences between white and black athletes.

On August 6, 1936, Rice began his column with an exaggerated hyperbole, "Jesse Owens, the Buckeye Blizzard, will take back to Buckeye soil enough Olympic oak trees to start a new oak forest," describing his performance in the 200 meters under adverse weather conditions.[117] He explained his "record-shattering path" by explaining how the "Ohio Negro's flying feet ate up time and turf."[118]

Rice continued with his dramatic narrative in writing, "Dark clouds were hovering over the field above the shivering 100,000 spectators as Owens left the starter's mark like a shot from a gun. Off to the lead, he looked like a dark streak of lightning. Still traveling in his effortless style, he pulled steadily away to finish in 20.7 seconds, three-tenths of a second faster than the race had ever been run before."[119] In this section, Rice compared Owens' speed to a gun and lightning and complimented his graceful movements. Additionally, he imbued "dark clouds" with the human attribute of "hovering," an example of personification.[120]

The August 8, 1936 column included the following racially marked language in the first paragraph. "Brown is Germany's national color, and brown remains the official color of the Olympic games. The only change is from brown shirts to brown skins."[121] The second paragraph added, "You can call them all-browns or the sepia fusileers. At any rate, they have turned Berlin's magnificent Olympic spectacle into darktown on parade."[122]

Rice called Archie Williams a "California Negro" and "dark lightning" and implied stereotypical attributes for the black athletes in the following verse:

> Easily, almost lazily, and minus any show of extra effort, they have turned sport's greatest spectacle into the "Black Birds of 1936." All week, crowds of 110,000 must have had black spots dancing before their bewildered eyes. However you may feel about it, the four American Negroes, Owens, Johnson, Woodruff and Williams, have won six main firsts, leading the United States to a smashing victory in the eleventh Olympiad, as far too many American whites fell down badly.[123]

On August 9, 1936, Rice led with information on American decathlete Glenn Morris's world record followed by Americans Bob Clark and Jack Parker's sweep of the medals, lauding it as the "greatest showing the United States has ever made."[124] He followed with the United States' relay team and its performance. Wrote Rice, "In one of the biggest days for the United States, the relay team led by Jesse Owens ran the 400 meters in 40 seconds flat, outclassing the field. Lawson Robertson, the United States Olympic track and field coach, picked the best United States team regardless of race and color, thereby using wise judgment despite any criticism. Owens delighted the biggest crowd of the week, which packed and jammed the Stadium, with Chancellor Hitler remaining for the finish around 9 PM."[125]

Rice minimized the use of stylistic devices and electrically charged language in this article and instead presented a fairly blasé commentary. While Rice detailed Hitler's attendance and the enthusiasm displayed for Owens, the piece's explicit persuasive appeals waned in comparison to articles earlier in the week.

In the August 10, 1936 column Rice expressed a more positive and objective tone by writing, "United States athletes Owens, Towns, Morris and the relay team accounted for five of the eight world records and most of the Olympic marks that were shattered as the athletes and spectators of fifty rival nations looked on in wonderment as the Stars and Stripes clung almost continuously to the Olympic masthead."[126]

The United States won twelve of twenty-three events. Rice used two coaches' quotes instilling credibility and promoting official perspectives. Dean Cromwell presented a sugarcoated view by contending, "The performances of Owens and Glenn Morris . . . were incredible. The crowds were extremely fair, unusually so considering the preponderance of United States victories. No other Olympic has been even close in crowds, records, color and fairness.[127]

Lawson Robertson, the coach of the United States track and field team added, "This is the all-time top",[128] and in a subsequent article said that "Owens is a complete standout . . . Not only is he a perfect athlete, but a fine boy and a 100 percent sportsman."[129] Rice praised Owens' sportsmanship when he "shoved Metcalfe forward in his place for the Olympic crowning in the 400-meter event."[130]

On August 12, 1936, Rice quoted Ernest Hanfstaengl, a "Harvard man and one of the German heads."[131] Hanfstaengl asserted:

> There is not the slightest objection here to the Negroes . . . We are looking for the best. But in our own case we would enter them from the colonies, not from Germany. It was Africa that dominated the Olympic track and field, not the United States. Why not give the home nation the credit due?[132]

While this may not directly reveal Rice's opinion, his use of this comment reiterated and reinforced the segregation between nation and race and black from white. The rhetorical question at the end invited readers to contemplate the issue and opinions presented in the article.

In Rice's post-Olympic column on August 27, 1936, he compared the Olympic Games to a party. Wrote Rice, "The large Olympic party put on by American Negroes will have Germany's savants, philosophers and research experts busy for some time. Being a pretty thorough set of people along whatever line they follow, the Germans want to know how it happened and why it happened—especially why."[133] Rice used hyperbole and stereotyped the German people in their attention to detail. Regarding the success of "Owens, Johnson, Metcalfe, Woodruff, Williams, Lu Valle" and other black American athletes, Rice quoted an anonymous, but alleged "expert" who said:

> It is the Negro's ability to relax and keep relaxed, plus his inborn sense of rhythm . . . I watched them at rest around the Olympic village and it seemed to me that most of the time they were dozing or yawning. They are not worn down by too many jumpy nerves.[134]

Rice clearly affirmed the idea that black athletes were genetically predisposed to excelling in sport due to their physical and emotional composition. He additionally bolstered the stereotype that black individuals are lazier than other races. While he credited Owens as being able to "put on full pressure without breaking perfect form" and his "ability to look completely at ease and relaxed even in the midst of a record breaking race," the article's tone appeared curious yet uninformed.[135]

Rice then quoted an anonymous United States coach who reinforced their "greater natural rhythm" by saying, "The average Negro of 18 or 19 is as much developed physically as the average white of 22 or

23 . . . This makes a difference. On a general average, they are also more agile as a race."[136]

Rice concluded on a lighter note with the coach saying, "Certainly it will be a long time before we get another Owens. He is one of those rarities who happen along every other lifetime."[137] While the last sentence praised Owens, most of the article focused on the alleged genetic and psychological differences between the races and his use of quotes and stylistic devices reinforced this premise.

General Observations on Rice's Articles

During the 1920s and continuing into the 1930s, significant sports events often graced newspapers' front-page headlines with descriptive and florid language. Writers sought to instill excitement in their readers through vivid imagery and stylistic devices. Rice's writings unquestionably possessed unity, lyricism, and eloquence. He informed and commented through his elaborate, yet mellifluous prose and excelled at scene-setting techniques, instilling a feeling of immersion and participation among the readers. His writings enabled American fans to experience the excitement of the Berlin Olympic Games through his tone, language, and intimate commentary.

As the analysis indicated, Rice's articles rarely included detailed analyses of Jesse Owens' talents, character, ability to overcome adversity, or racial prejudices. They focused instead on detailed accounts of the surrounding scenes, biological explanations of the black athletes' dominance of the Olympic Games, and the audiences' reactions to the athletes' victories. The conversational yet authoritative tone gained intimacy with readers while establishing credibility. Rice used metaphors comparing sport to war and drama, reverting back to his military experiences from World War I. The columns reflected the fun, the fancy, the frivolity of sport in an escapist way, yet hinted at deeper implications like race relations and politics. As cultural historian Warren Susman wrote regarding the era's sports journalists, "They invented along the way an often brilliantly different and always special kind of rhetoric and style. Their unique prose delighted readers, sold more copies, appealed to more advertising agencies with products to sell."[138]

Journalists' Writings from the New York Amsterdam News

Chase's first article appeared on August 8 and began with a war metaphor:

> When the good ship Manhattan left its berth with the United States Olympic team for its foreign invasion, the experts claimed that it bore the strongest track and field teams to have ever left the American shores. Ten Negro boys were on that boat as track and field Olympic entries, and these ten boys, so the critics said, were the strongest part of the American forces in that division.[139]

Chase noted the "black contingent"and detailed Owens' three gold medals; Johnson and Woodruff's one gold medal, respectively; and the silver medals won by Albritton and Robinson.[140] He called Owens an "individual star" who "truly earned the title of the world's fastest human by his triple victory."[141] Chase stressed that Owens matched Paavo Nurmi of Finland, who won three gold medals in 1924.[142] He wrote, "He streaked down the track to establish a new world's record in the amazing time of 0:10.2 seconds."[143] However, "The International Amateur Athletic Federation would not allow the record to stand, as there was a favoring wind at the back of Owens."[144] While Chase reported the incident, he did not criticize the ruling nor allege it was unfair.

Chase next described the 100-meter finals where Owens equaled the world record of 0:10.3 seconds and the broad jump competition and Owens' battle with German Lutz Long, whom he later befriended.[145] Wrote Chase, "Owens came thundering down the runway and drove into space a moment later. He had taken the play away at 7.94 meters and then drove beyond Long's reach with his final jump of 8.06 meters. That cemented the distinction of his becoming the first 26-footer in Olympic history. Score No. 2 for Owens."[146] Chase's use of metaphor and hyperbole reinforced the distinction between Owens and his competitors.

Chase then described the 200-meter race and the rivalry between Owens and American Mack Robinson, regarding them as "American hopes in the final of this event."[147] In the final fifty meters of the race, "Robinson unleashed a killing burst, but was unable to catch the flying Owens, who won the race by four feet over Robinson. The United States had made another 'small slam' with its black contingent playing the honor role."[148] Both Americans broke existing world records and Chase described the Germans' response in the following manner:

> The 110,000 people in the huge stadium rose to the man to give Owens one of the grandest ovations ever accorded an athlete. Cries of 'Owens'! rang throughout the arena as the greatest living athlete strode casually back to where he had left his warm-ups.[149]

Chase elaborated on Woodruff by saying he was "inspired by the feats of Owens and the rest of his dark-skinned brothers."[150] To conclude, he offered an overview of the Americans victories and dominance by writing, "The American team is conceded to be the strongest ever sent to these Olympic wars, with ten gallant Negro boys counted upon to literally win the track and field championship for the United States."[151] In the last paragraph he wrote, "These victories bring the point total of the Negro stars up to 80 . . . The boys can pick up around 20 more points if the form charts continue to hold out."[152]

Chase's celebratory tone stressed American patriotism as well as the brotherhood existing between the black track and field athletes. Like Rice, he used war metaphors, but overall his use of stylistic devices and embellished language waned in comparison and his columns lacked the lyricism of Rice's work.

In Randy Taylor's August 8 column, "Sportopics," he commended the athletes' feats. He first noted that he's "pinch-hitting for Roi Ottley" and began by writing,

> All I can think about is the Olympic Games at Berlin and America's 'Black Gang' . . . The dusky-hued stars are certainly stealing the show from Herr Hitler . . . Hitler promised the world that there would be no show of racial bias or prejudice at the games . . . I guess Hitler suffered a lapse of memory when he failed to greet the winners of the high jump.[153]

He next stressed his point by writing, "If Hitler is trying to dodge the Afro-Americans he'll have a hard time, for Owens, Metcalfe, Johnson, Albritton, Woodruff, Williams et al. are going to make it tough for him."[154] He called Owens "the tops" and then wrote, "This boy is a record-breaking fool: he broke the world's record in the 100 meters.[155]

After discussing Johnson, Albritton, and Woodruff, Taylor returned to Owens and called him the "World's Greatest Athlete."[156] He set Owens apart from all athletes in writing:

> Jesse Owens, the pride of Ohio, stands out in bold relief as the greatest athlete in the world today. When he won three Olympic championships, he moved into the favored class occupied only by

> the peerless Paavo Nurmi. However, the feats of Owens overshadow those of Nurmi, primarily because the Finn was a track man and won all of his honors in the flat races in 1924. Owens is the first athlete to combine both track and field activities and win Olympic championships in all of them.[157]

After Taylor discussed Owens' high school achievements and records, he expounded on Hitler's reaction to Owens at the Olympic Games.

> Der Fuehrer forgot that Owens had won the broad jump and he congratulated Lutz Long, the German, who placed second . . . What would have happened if the Negroes of the United States had protested against colored stars competing in the Berlin games . . . Methinks the German Chancellor would have felt a lot better.[158]

Chase ended conversationally by saying, "Well, folks, these colored boys are so good that their performances make goose pimples break out all over my flesh."[159]

On August 15 Chase's article entitled "Hitler's Aid in Talk to Chase Denies Insult," referred to his interview with Reich Minister of Propaganda Goebbels, who said that Hitler maintained a "definite schedule" and was therefore unable to meet Jesse Owens.[160] Chase countered by saying Hitler waited two hours to greet German victors. He then indicated that the Propaganda Minister showed respect for Owens, but not for other black athletes. Wrote Chase, "If any Negroe was excepted, it was Jesse Owens only, who is treated as a special pet in the midst of much antagonistic feeling."[161]

Chase noted the "continual surveillance" in watching "all non-Aryans, notably Jews and Negroes" and revealed, "Only the fact that some Negroes vote in America and, therefore, have some voice in international affairs, seem to have won over the functionaries of the Propaganda Office to calendar the interview, which, incidentally, is the only one granted to any Negro weekly by so close an adviser and representative of Hitler."[162]

Taylor's "Sportopics" on August 15, 19[illegible] termed Owens "The Unbeatable" and "the greatest sprinter."[163] He wrote, "This commentator has been beefing loud and long from the housetops that it's 'Owens'---can't be anybody else . . . You can't beat figures."[164] Taylor selected Owens over athletes

Howard Drew, Charley Paddock, Eddie Tolan, and Ralph Metcalfe explaining, "He runs with all the ease and grace of a piece of oiled machinery. He is mechanical to say the least, but still he possesses the true heart of a champion."[165]

Taylor next emphasized his records by writing, "But when it comes to being a record holder, he's the tops; he holds world's records in the 100 meters, 200 meters, 100 yards, 220 yards, 220 yard low hurdles and the broad jump. I don't suppose there are any more records he can gather in."[166] He then reiterated effusive praise by writing, "He won four gold medals, thus becoming the third individual to accomplish this feat in the Olympic Games, joining A.E. Kraenzlein, U.S.A., and Paavo Nurmi, Finland, in this favored group. The triumphs of Owens stamp him as the outstanding athlete to have performed in the eleventh Olympiad."[167]

Taylor commented on the Nazi reaction in writing, "Der Feuhrer had quite a difficult time getting around the congratulatory ceremonies for the colored lads . . . The Nazi press took up the war cry, claiming that the U.S. had to use its 'black auxiliary forces' to win the track and field title . . . Someone suggested that the U.S. ought to send its dark brothers as a separate team."[168]

Taylor addressed the German papers' assertion that Owens might turn professional after the Olympic Games, admitting it was an ideal time for such a move. He wrote, "The fact that he is at the peak of his prominence makes it possible for him to land lucrative contracts... And in these times of stress and strain, one can't overlook any opportunities to cash in on his abilities . . . We wish Jesse luck in any decision he makes."[169]

In Chase's other August 15 article entitled, "Germans Look for Savage Negro, Chase Says, Citing Nazi Slander,"[170] he began by writing,

> The Germans were insistent that America cleaned up in the track and field games because they brought over their 'alien' Negro athletes. No argument could convince them that Negroes are real Americans, for they have classified them like the Jews who were persecuted religiously by the Nazis until Olympic party manners were instituted.

> The hospitality shown toward Negroes at the beginning of the games was overdone, and little incidents kept cropping up at times to convince one that the National Socialist spirit of antagonism toward non-Aryan races is beginning to permeate the people.[171]

He noted that German papers incorrectly reported that several Negro track and field victors "got drunk to celebrate" and another newspaper showed a picture of Owens and Metcalfe shivering and said, "'Germany with its cold breezes is no place for a black man.'"[172]

Chase suggested that many Germans had never seen Negroes and one German allegedly explained that he expected the black athletes to eat with fingers rather than utensils.[173] For balance, Chase noted, "No racial segregation or discrimination existed at the Olympic Village" even among "white Southerners."[174] He concluded by stressing the Germans' intrigue and obsession with Owens. Chase wrote, "Many Germans know but two English words, and they are 'Jesse Owens.'"[175] "Almost every Negro man on the streets was approached by a German woman offering to make love for a price. I was informed that they consider their attentions worth four times as much from Negroes as from whites."[176]

On August 29, 1936, Roi Ottley wrote a front-page article entitled "Olympic Hero Returns to Weigh Proposals---No Unkind Words Even for Hitler."[177] He created a majestic and almost ethereal scene by beginning, "The magnificent ocean liner, Queen Mary, flagship of the Cunard, White Star Line, brought the magnificent Jesse Owens home Monday. He came back from his foreign triumphs to receive a stunning reception. At Quarantine his parents, delegations from Cleveland and more than 300 newspapermen welcomed the Olympic star, who had scored so brilliantly in Berlin."[178]

His article primarily reported on Owens' demeanor and perspectives towards the Games. Wrote Ottley, "The fact that he had been suspended from the A.A.U. for failure to accompany the American Olympic team on its 'barnstorming' trip through Europe apparently had not made the youthful hero bitter."[179] Ottley alleged that Owens had been "coached" not to make "offensive declarations that might later impair his professional career."[180] After all, Owens admitted that he wanted "security" for himself and his family.[181] This reinforces Owens' non-confrontational and gracious demeanor.

In the article Owens emphatically stated, "'There was absolutely no discrimination at all. Everyone was friendly to me, and our athletes were accorded the greatest ovation I ever heard when we arrived in Germany.'"[182] Ottley then ended with his commentary, "The international idol was expansive and warm in his praise of Lutz Long, the German broad jumper, who he declared gave him his stiffest fight in athletic competition. He thinks Long is one of the great athletes of the world."[183]

Ottley presented a heroic image of Owens despite the prejudices and adversity he faced in Nazi Germany. He appeared as a perfect and humble gentleman and athlete, a role model for all individuals alike.

General Observations on the New York Amsterdam News' Journalists

Regarding specific differences between the three journalists at the New York Amsterdam News, Chase used more metaphors and hyperbole, stressing the unification and camaraderie between the "dark-skinned brothers."[184] Chase's articles exuded a positive perspective towards white America, but derided Germans towards the end of the Games. He compared the black athletes' experiences to those of Jews in Germany and his tone appeared more realistic. Taylor openly criticized Hitler from the beginning of the Games, thereby separating Owens from his nemesis and the rest of the Olympic field. He placed Owens within history, claiming he was a greater athlete than predecessors Nurmi and Kraenzlein. Likewise, Taylor expressed understanding about Owens' relinquishment of his amateur status. Ottley's post-Olympic article likewise presented Owens as a hero by emphasizing his modest, mild-mannered, and gracious deportment.

Further Discussion and Racial Significance

When analyzing Rice's articles singularly or by our cultural standards, he appeared blatantly racist in his use of language and characterizations. From his cautious optimism at the beginning of the Olympic Games to his later commendation later on, Rice's embellished prose obfuscated his true feelings towards the race. Rice never intentionally criticized Owens and other black athletes. However, despite his commendations for Owens' pursuits and character, his columns exhibited racially marked language, remarks, references, and stereotypes.

While Rice used apposition to describe where white athletes lived as when he denoted Hardin's Mississippi background, he instead referenced black athletes' race as in his use of "Negro runner and jumper" to describe Owens.[185] Whether Rice characterized Owens as a "noble savage," an African or Ethiopian, a Negro, or "wild Zulu," the writings portrayed racially marked language and inequitable treatment for Owens.[186] He never quoted Jesse Owens and instead cited "reliable sources" and coaches for their perspectives of the events and festivities. Most articles included such racially descriptive qualifiers as black, fast, and lazy as Rice frequently focused on alleged biological differences between the races. The columns reflected what Fountain said about his treatment of black athletes: "It is certainly not enlightened . . . It is, at bottom, complicated and uncomfortable---a veritable mirror of the ugly contradiction that was America in the years of segregation."[187]

Rice lauded Owens' athletic capability and remarkable victories, yet failed to provide in-depth analyses and commentary on his accomplishments. He instead suggested that black athletes exerted a biological advantage and rarely attributed successes to skill or character. While Rice stereotyped German athletes and American Helen Stephens, his repetitive branding of black athletes continually reinforced racially separatist ideologies.

Nevertheless, it would be shortsighted to judge Rice and his works without understanding his Tennessee upbringing, the historical context of 1930s America, and other writers' perspectives.[188] In the least, the stories suggested that Rice possessed southern attitudes towards race, failed to criticize thoughts of the period, and either exhibited apathy or sustained stereotypes, subconsciously or consciously.

While Rice failed to change or challenge the status quo, he still praised Owens' athletic prowess and achievements, thereby reinforcing and sustaining the racial opinions and prejudices of American society during the 1930s. This suggests that black individuals, who did not challenge the white man's system, could gain respect on some levels. However, it chiefly included athletic skills and certain personality characteristics, rather than intelligence or mental capacities.

Surprisingly, the black journalists' writings resembled Rice's in their celebratory tone and commentary, war and battle metaphors, audience reactions, and minimal quotes. However, unlike Rice,

the writers stressed Owens' place in history, his gracious and humble demeanor, and the unification of the black athletes at the Games. While the writers relied on fewer metaphors and hyperbole, they used more colloquial and conversational terms. They used less racially marked language, however some still appeared in their columns. Regardless, they never once questioned the black athletes' nationality and stressed their victories for America.

As the articles reveal, the black journalists' primary goal was to tout Jesse Owens and the American athletes' dominance of the Aryan-Olympic Games while maintaining a fairly objective and neutral tone. Like Rice, they stressed nationalism and pride for American athletes, yet they never once called black athletes "African" or "Ethiopian." They never referred to biological variances between the races, which did not bolster cultural perspectives towards race and Aryan supremacy. While the black journalists did not necessarily alter the status quo or present controversial columns in their treatment of events, they established equitable treatment of all athletes in their passive, yet resolute tone.

Conclusion: Four Views of the Black Pearl

Like a black pearl, Owens was "beautiful, authentic, and exceptional."[189] All journalists, black and white, recognized that Owens' talent was rare and his gracious demeanor mysterious and mystical. However, unlike black pearls that are "perfect at birth,"[190] Owens overcame such physical ailments as pneumonia and bronchial problems, poverty, and racial prejudices to attain athletic perfection. His long, graceful stride, his svelte yet toned physique, and his soft-spoken deportment enabled individuals of both races to accept and embrace him. After all, he accepted his fate as a black man in a white man's world and often seemed like a white man trapped in a black man's body.

Historian William Manchester's concept of "generational chauvinism" establishes that society can not judge previous generations' practices by contemporary times since their actions may have been "appropriate and consistent" with society.[191] In part, this proves true here since differences between black and white journalists' depictions were not as drastic as expected, signifying that journalists reinforced society's ideologies through language, tone, and content. Even though words and phrases are difficult to decipher and possess different meanings depending on the individual and time period,[192] a study of this

nature provides a glimpse into the drama and fury of the Berlin Olympic Games and its prize gem Jesse Owens. After all, we need to overcome what Dr. Stephen Butler terms "historical amnesia," or failing to understand the importance of the past.[193]

This notion further emphasizes the necessity for historical sports research both as a singular entity and in a more comparative tradition with contemporary sports studies. Potential research includes a comparative study of other mainstream sports journalists' articles on the 1936 Olympics to help further clarify whether Rice was merely a product of his time or perceived race differently from Paul Gallico and others. A comparative content analysis of the white and black press' coverage and the content of the Communist Daily Worker would also prove enlightening as a companion study. To further investigate the similarities and differences between sports journalists' coverage of the races, a comparative examination between Jesse Owens and a prominent white athlete of the day like Olympic track and field decathlete Glenn Morris could also prove informative.

It is also important to consider the following issues. In 1936 individuals embraced Owens' victories, but how would they have reacted if Owens had been more vocal in his fight? Would journalists and fans have rooted for him if the Olympic Games had occurred outside Berlin? Or did they view him as a catalyst for uniting America and overcoming Hitler and his ideologies?

While these questions remain, one thing remains clear. The journalists' celebratory articles sought to inform readers of the importance of Jesse Owens and other Olympic heroes through literary devices, emotion, and drama, however the impact of writing in its entirety must also be recognized. After all, neither the athletes nor writers were as perfect as they were depicted during this era of acculturation, "participation and belonging."[194]

Notes

[1] Jesse Owens Foundation, 30 November 2001, http://www.jesse-owens.org/about1.html (30 November 2001).

[2] Douglas Kellner, "Sports Media Culture, and Race—Some Reflections on Michael Jordan," Sociology of Sport Journal 13 (1996): 465.

[3] Kellner, 464.

[4] DeWayne Wickham, "Racism Persists in Pro Sports, New Media." USA Today, 14 April 1998, 15A.

[5] Lawrence A. Wenner, "Playing the MediaSport Game," in MediaSport, ed. Lawrence A. Wenner (London: Routledge, 1998), 5.

[6] James Carey, James Carey: A Critical Reader (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 91.

[7] Carey, 92.

[8] Marion Marzolf, "American Studies---Ideas for Media Historians,?" Journalism History 5, no. 1 (1978): 15, quoted in Carolyn Kitch, "The American Woman Series: Gender and Class in The Ladies' Home Journal, 1897," Journalism Quarterly 75, no. 2 (1998): 244.

[9] Marion Marzolf, "American Studies---Ideas for Media Historians,?" Journalism History 5, no. 1 (1978): 15, quoted in Carolyn Kitch, "The American Woman Series: Gender and Class in The Ladies' Home Journal, 1897," Journalism Quarterly 75, no. 2 (1998): 244.

Marzolf stressed the need to "expose the old and accepted history to new viewpoints, theories, questions and methods" and offered potential questions and approaches for studying content, culture and society. Using her foundation, this approach considers the following questions regarding content: "What *was* in the newspapers? What values, attitudes, social norms were conveyed through the newspapers? What picture of society, community and the various groups within that community was presented?" Regarding culture and society, this approach considers the following questions: "What is the significance of journalism in the presentation of information, values and opinions to the elites and non-elites of society?" "Was the newspaper's reality the same as the social reality? What role did the newspaper play in the society of its time?"

[10] Marzolf, 16.

[11] Marzolf, 16.

[12] Marzolf, 15.

[13] Douglas A. Noverr and Lawrence E. Ziewacz, The Games They Played: Sports in American History, 1865-1980 (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1983), 129. Please see Norman Katkov, "Jesse Owens Revisited," in The World of Sport, ed. Al Silverman (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962),

289. Here Katkov lists all of Owens' feats including the "200-meter race, setting a new Olympic record—20.7 seconds. He won the broad jump: 26 feet, 5 5/16 inches. He helped win the 400-meter relay race for the Americans. The quartet of Owens, Metcalfe, Draper and Wykoff ran the Olympic distance faster than it ever has been run—before or since. Their world record was 39.8."

[14] Grantland Rice, The Tumult and the Shouting (New York: A.S. Barnes, 1954), 252-253.

[15] Charles Fountain, Sportswriter: The Life and Times of Grantland Rice (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 4. Please also see Fountain, 193. In the 1920s eighty to one hundred papers published Rice's daily column, boasting a circulation of more than ten million. Fountain also noted on page 4 that Rice contributed to setting the agenda of "American popular culture."

[16] Rice, The Tumult and the Shouting, xv.

[17] Fountain, 56, 85, 138. After graduating Phi Beta Kappa from Vanderbilt University in 1901, Rice also worked for the Atlanta Journal and Nashville Tennessean. Please see Fountain, 207. His popularity skyrocketed during the 1920s "Golden Age of Journalism" and in 1925, his salary of $52,000 as an associate editor for the Herald Tribune, equaled Babe Ruth's. Rice, Tumult and the Shouting, 258. In other ventures, Rice partnered with Jack Eaton to produce one-reel films at Sportlight Films where he received two Academy Awards for short-subject features. Please see Fountain, 194-196 and 285-286. He also provided the play-by-play for the first World Series game covered live on radio in 1922. On July 13, 1954, Rice died of a stroke at the age of seventy-three.

[18] William J. Baker, Jesse Owens: An American Life (New York: The Free Press, 1986), 6.

[19] Baker, 7, 9.

[20] Baker, 14-15. By 1936, Baker noted that 2.5 million black Americans inhabited northern metropolitan areas (134).

[21] Baker, 21.

[22] Jesse Owens with Paul Neimark, I Have Changed (New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1972), 31.

[23] Jesse Owens with Paul Neimark, 31.

[24] Baker, 23-24.

[25] Baker, 24-25.

[26] The Official Jesse Owens Web Site, 30 November 2001, http://www.jesseowens.com/jobio2.html (30 November 2001).

[27] Baker, 28, 32.

[28] The Official Jesse Owens Web Site, 30 November 2001, http://www.jesseowens.com/jobio2.html (30 November 2001).

[29] Jesse Owens with Paul Neimark, 27.

[30] Owens with Neimark, 32.

[31] Owens with Neimark, 27.

[32] Baker, 50.

[33] Baker, 50.

[34] Owens with Neimark, 32.

[35] The Official Jesse Owens Web Site, 30 November 2001, http://www.jesseowens.com/jobio2.html (30 November 2001).

[36] Owens with Neimark, 17-18.

[37] Owens with Neimark, 18.

[38] Owens with Neimark, 19.

[39] Baker, 140.

[40] Baker, 106.

[41] Baker, 150.

[42] Baker, 107.

[43] Baker, 171.

[44] Baker, 170-181.

[45] Riess, 321, add.

[46] Baker, 199-201.

[47] Dorinson, Lecture. Dr. Richard Zamoff's Sociology 701 class. George Washington University, Washington, DC, 30 September 1999.

[48] Please see Donald Spivey, "Black Consciousness and Olympic Protest Movement, 1964-1980," Sport in America (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1985) 239-62, quoted in Steven A. Riess, "The New Sport History," Reviews in American History 18 (Sep. 1990) 311-25.

[49] Baker, 225.

[50] James Horton, lecture in Dr. Richard Zamoff's Sociology 701 class, George Washington University, Washington, DC, 14 October 1999.

[51] Al-Tony Gilmore, "Jack Johnson: A Magnificent Black Anachronism of the Early Twentieth Century." In The American Sporting Experience: A Historical Anthology of Sport in America, by Steven A. Riess (Champaign: Leisure Press, 1984), 308.

[52] Gilmore, 307-308. Please see Louis L. Knowles and Kenneth Prewitt, eds., Institutional Racism in America (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969), 9.

[53] Edward Caudill, Darwinian Myths: The Legends and Misuses of a Theory (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 119.

[54] Caudill, 120.

[55] Caudill, 132.

[56] Caudill, 132.

[57] Richard L-G. Ceverall, "Racism," Catholic World 148 (Jan. 1939): 398-404, quoted in Edward Caudill, Darwinian Myths: The Legends and Misuses of a Theory (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 128.

[58] Walter Benn Michaels, Our America Nativism, Modernism, and Pluralism (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 2-3.

[59] Michaels, 11.

[60] Michaels, 13.

[61] Michaels, 133.

[62] Kellner, 465.

[63] Joseph Dorinson, lecture in Dr. Richard Zamoff's Sociology 701 class, George Washington University, 30 September 1999.

[64] Fountain, 252.

[65] Laurel R. Davis and Othello Harris, "Race and Ethnicity in US Sports Media," in MediaSport, ed. Lawrence A. Wenner (London: Routledge, 1998), 158.

[66] Davis and Harris, 157.

[67] Davis and Harris, 157.

[68] Ben Carrington, "Sport Masculinity, and Black Cultural Resistance," Journal of Sport and Social Issues 22 (1998): 275-298. Periodical Abstracts. Washington Research Library Consortium. UMI-Proquest. Jan. 2000, par. 22.

[69] Jon Entine, Taboo: Why Black Athletes Dominate Sports and Why We are Afraid to Talk About It (New York: Public Affairs, 2000), 185.

[70]Entine, 187. Entine discussed the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games and the variances between western press coverage and Nazi propaganda. The Volkischer Beobachter proclaimed that if black athletes were not excluded, the "sacred grandeur of the Olympiad" would be damaged (183). Please see David K. Wiggins, "The 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin: The Response of America's Black Press," Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport 54, (September 1983), 282. Jon Entine, Taboo: Why Black Athletes Dominate Sports and Why We are Afraid to Talk About It (New York: Public Affairs, 2000), viii.

And the New York Times inaccurately wrote, "Hitler greets all medallists except Americans," since Owens competed the following day. Nevertheless, the International Olympic Committee urged Hitler to greet all or none of the gold-medal winners and he opted for the latter (184). Please also see Arnd Kruger, "The 1936 Olympic Games-Berlin," in The Modern Olympics, eds. Peter J. Graham and Norst Veberhorst (West Point, NY: Leisure Press, 1976), 173-186.

[71] Richard D. Mandell, The Nazi Olympics (New York: Macmillan Company, 1971), 231-232.

[72] Fountain, 250.

[73] Fountain, 252.

[74] Fountain, 252.

[75] Fountain, 253.

[76] Fountain, 254.

[77] Mandell, 225.

[78] Norman Katkov, "Jesse Owens Revisited," in The World of Sport, ed. Al Silverman (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962), 280.

[79]Katkov, 279-280.

[80] Frank Luther Mott, American Journalism A History: 1690-1960, 3rd ed. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962), 795.

[81] Fountain, 138.

[82] Fountain, 206. In 1924, the New York Herald purchased the New York Tribune and the two united to form the New York Herald Tribune.

[83] Robert Manning, "Good Sports," Columbia Journalism Review 33, no. 5 (1994): 52.

[84] Fountain, 129.

[85] William Charles Chase, "America's Hopes Depend on These," New York Amsterdam News, 1 August 1936, 2. The New York Amsterdam News promoted his columns prior to the opening ceremonies with a quarter-page photo of Jesse Owens and teammate Ralph Metcalf, which read: "America's Hopes Depend Upon These at the Olympics in Berlin, Germany as well as the Other NEGRO STARS Competing in the Greatest Athletic Event in the World."[85]

[86] Douglas A. Noverr and Lawrence E. Ziewacz, The Games They Played: Sports in American History, 1865-1980 (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1983), 128-129.

[87] Baker, 101.

[88] Grantland Rice, "U.S. Withholds Nazi Salute, Has Cool Olympic Reception," Boston Globe, 2 August 1936, 1.

[89] Rice, "U.S. Withholds," 1.

[90] Rice, "U.S. Withholds," 1. According to Corbett, alliteration is the "repetition of initial or medial consonants in two or more adjacent words," 459.

[91] Rice, "U.S. Withholds," 30.

[92] Edward P.J. Corbett, Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 460. Metonymy is a "substitution of some attributive or suggestive word for what is actually meant" and hyperbole is the "use of exaggerated terms for the purpose of emphasis or heightened effect. Both are rhetorical tropes.

[93] Rice, "U.S. Withholds," 30.

[94] Rice, "U.S. Withholds," 30.

[95] Rice, "U.S. Withholds," 30.

[96] Rice, "U.S. Withholds," 30.

[97] Rice, "U.S. Withholds," 30.

[98] Grantland Rice, "The Sportlight," New York Sun, 3 August 1936, 25.

[99] Corbett, 460. Personification is "investing abstractions for inanimate objects with human qualities or abilities."

[100] Rice, 3 August 1936, 25.

[101] Rice, 3 August 1936, 25.

[102] Rice, 3 August 1936, 25.

[103] Rice, 3 August 1936, 25.

[104] Grantland Rice, "The Sportlight: Girl from the Ozark Breaks World Record," New York Sun, 4 August 1936, 27.

[105] Rice, "Girl," 27.

[106] Rice, "Girl," 27.

[107] Rice, "Girl," 27.

[108] Rice, "Girl," 27.

[109] Grantland Rice, "The Sportlight: Owens Wins Broad Jump; Dominates Olympic Show," New York Sun, 5 August 1936, 29.

[110] Rice, "Owens Wins," 29.

[111] Rice, "Owens Wins," 29.

[112] Rice, "Owens Wins," 29.

[113] Rice, "Owens Wins," 29.

[114] Rice, "Owens Wins," 29.

[115] Rice, "Owens Wins," 29.

[116] Rice, "Owens Wins," 29.

[117] Grantland Rice, "Sportlight: US Team Adds to Huge Score," Boston Globe, 6 August, 1936, 1. Per Katkov, the Olympic Organizing Committee gave Owens a potted oak tree "as a living memorial to the victory," 289.

[118] Rice, "US Team," 1.

[119] Rice, "US Team," 21.

[120] Corbett, 459-460.

[121] Grantland Rice, "The Sportlight: Williams Captures 400 for Sixth U.S. First," New York Sun, 8 August 1936, 30.

[122] Rice, "Williams," 30.

[123] Rice, "Williams," 30.

[124] Grantland Rice, "Morris Victory Caps Olympics, Boston Globe, 9 August 1936, 1, 23.

[125] Rice, "Morris," 23.

[126] Grantland Rice, "Sportlight," New York Sun, 10 August 1936, 26.

[127] Rice, "Sportlight," 10 August 1936, 26.

[128] Rice, "Sportlight," 10 August 1936, 26.

[129] Grantland Rice, "Sportlight: Japanese Take Lead in Swimming Events," New York Sun, 11 August 1936, 28.

[130] Grantland Rice, "Sportlight," 10 August 1936, 36.

[131] Grantland Rice, "Sportlight: Move Seen to Segregate Men's, Women's Olympics," New York Sun, 12 August 1936, 30.

[132] Rice, "Sportlight: Move," 30.

[133] Grantland Rice, "The Sportlight: Germans Study Makeup of Negro," Boston Sunday Globe, 27 August 1936, 22.

[134] Rice, "Germans," 22.

[135] Rice, "Germans," 22.

[136] Rice, "Germans," 22.

[137] Rice, "Germans," 22.

[138] Warren I. Susman, Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 143.

[139] William C. Chase, "Owens Captures 3 Crowns at Berlin; 2 Other in First," New York Amsterdam News, 8 August 1936, 1.

[140] Chase, "Owens Captures," 1.

[141] Chase, "Owens Captures," 1.

[142] Chase, "Owens Captures," 1.

[143] Chase, "Owens Captures," 1.

[144] Chase, "Owens Captures," 1.

[145] Chase, "Owens Captures," 1, 14.

[146] Chase, "Owens Captures," 14.

[147] Chase, "Owens Captures," 14.

[148] Chase, "Owens Captures," 14.

[149] Chase, "Owens Captures," 14.

[150] Chase, "Owens Captures," 14.

[151] Chase, "Owens Captures," 14.

[152] Chase, "Owens Captures," 14.

[153] Randy Taylor, "Sportopics," New York Amsterdam News, 8 August 1936, 14.

[154] Taylor, "Sportopics," 14.

[155] Taylor, "Sportopics," 14

[156] Taylor, "Sportopics," 14

[157] Taylor, "Sportopics," 14

[158] Taylor, "Sportopics," 14

[159] Taylor, "Sportopics," 14

[160] William Chase, "Hitler's Aid in Talk to Chase Denies Insult," New York Amsterdam News, 15 August 1936, 1.

[161] Chase, "Hitler's Aid," 1.

[162] Chase, "Hitler's Aid," 1.

[163] Randy Taylor, "Sportopics," 15 August 1936, 14.

[164] Taylor, "Sportopics," 15 August 1936, 14.

[165] Taylor, "Sportopics," 15 August 1936, 14

[166] Taylor, "Sportopics," 15 August 1936, 14

[167] Taylor, "Sportopics," 15 August 1936, 14

[168] Taylor, "Sportopics," 15 August 1936, 14

[169] Taylor, "Sportopics," 15 August 1936, 14

[170] William C. Chase, "Germans Look for Savage Negro, Chase Says, Citing Nazi Slander," New York Amsterdam News, 22 August, 1936, 1, 13.

[171] Chase, "Germans Look," 1.

[172] Chase, "Germans Look," 1.

[173] Chase, "Germans Look," 13.

[174] Chase, "Germans Look," 1.

[175] Chase, "Germans Look," 1.

[176] Chase, "Germans Look," 1.

[177] Roi Ottley, "40,000 is Lot of Money to Pass Up, Says Owens," New York Amsterdam News, 29 August, 1936, 1.

[178] Ottley, 1.

[179] Ottley, 1.

[180] Ottley, 1.

[181] Ottley, 13.

[182] Ottley, 13.

[183] Ottley, 13.

[184] Chase, "Owens Captures," 14.

[185] Please see Rice, "Owens Wins Broad Jump," 5 August 1936, 29 and Rice, "Owens Breaks World Record," 3 August 1936, 1.

[186] Rice, "Owens Wins," 5 August 1936, 29.

[187] Fountain, 246.

[188] Please see Fountain, 34-35. Bolling and Beaulah Rice raised him in Murfreesboro, Tennessee in the late nineteenth century and named him after his grandfather, Confederate Major Henry Grantland Rice.

[189] "Tahiti Black Pearl", 10 December 2001, http://www.tahiti-blackpearls.com/market/index.html (10 December 2001).

[190] "Tahiti Black Pearl," 10 December 2001, http://www.tahiti-blackpearls.com/market/index.html (10 December 2001).

[191] Please see William Manchester's letter to New York Times Book Review, 1991. quoted in Fountain, 247.

[192] Catherine Marshall and Gretchen B. Rossman, Designing Qualitative Research (Thousand Oaks, C.A.: Sage, 1995), 90.

[193] Stephen Butler, lecture in Dr. Richard Zamoff's Sociology 701 class. George Washington University, Washington, D.C., 16 September 1999.

[194] Susman, 172, 183.

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A Fall from Grace:

The Framing of Imam Fawaz Damra by *The Cleveland Plain Dealer*

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Abstract

This paper reveals how the September 11th terrorist attacks, committed by men of the Islamic faith, may have influenced the news coverage of a significant national Islamic leader. Through a qualitative content analysis, the researcher examines *The Cleveland Plain Dealer's* news coverage of Imam Fawaz Damra, current Islamic leader of the Islamic Center of Greater Cleveland mosque in Parma, Ohio and nationally known Islamic leader. Findings indicate that before September 11th, the newspaper consistently anointed Damra as a "spiritual leader." Immediately after the attacks, *The Cleveland Plain Dealer* reached out to Damra hoping that he would build on his reputation as a proponent of inter-faith cooperation to reconcile the racial tensions that terrorism had inflicted between Muslims and other Americans and among Muslims, Christians and Jews. However, that framing changed after a local news station disclosed that Imam was connected with the terrorists and after a 10 year old videotape of Damra hurling anti-Semitic remarks about Jews was released.

A Fall from Grace:

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On September 11th 2001, the world watched in horror as television journalists reported terrorist attacks on the United States. Millions watched as U.S. airplanes—hijacked by men of the Islamic faith—plunged into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, one of the most powerful symbols of the United States' flourishing economy, and a third plane struck the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. On a mission to strike the White House, a fourth plane crashed in Pennsylvania because passengers overtook the hijackers. The vivid images of fire, collapsing buildings, people jumping from windows and others running to escape the falling rubble, burned into the conscious of many Americans.

The events of September 11th planted a seed of anger into the hearts of many Americans. Dumbfounded by the suicide missions of these Islamic men, many Americans developed animosity toward any people of the Islamic faith. Many cities had to find a way to deal with Muslims being verbally harassed and physically beaten by fellow Americans.

Ohio's largest circulating newspaper, *The Cleveland Plain Dealer*, looked to Islamic religious leader Imam Fawaz Damra to help calm the racial tensions that existed in the region's highly populated Islamic communities. Head of the Islamic Center of Greater Cleveland Mosque in Parma, Ohio and a renowned religious leader who had preached religious tolerance, Damra became the chief spokesperson of the Islamic community. Repeatedly referring to him in their previous news coverage of the Islamic

culture and activities, *The Cleveland Plain Dealer* saw Damra as a competent source and a trusted leader in the days immediately following September 11th. But, what would happen if this Imam did not live up to his anointed role? On September 17, 2001, when WJW-TV, a local television station, broadcast a 10 year-old videotape of the Imam making racial slurs about Jews and accused Damra of having connections with the terrorists of September 11th, these accusations forced *The Cleveland Plain Dealer* to redefine its framing of a religious leader that had long preached reconciliation.

In order to determine the focus of the newspaper's coverage of Imam Damra, this study takes a look at the coverage of Imam Damra before and after September 11th, 2001 and after the September 17 disclosure. It also offers some examples of previous media's coverage of minorities. In addition, it suggests that the framing of Imam Damra is consistent with the media's usual coverage of minorities.

Background

Like many immigrants, Imam Fawaz Damra came to the U.S. seeking additional education. With a BA degree in Islamic Law from the University of Jordan, he enrolled at the University of Chicago in 1985 where he took some elective courses. He went on to receive his MA degree in Islamic Studies from Hartford Seminary, Hartford, Connecticut. After he became a U.S. citizen, Damra became a distinguished figure of the Muslim American community. Damra served as religious leader of mosques in Chicago, St. Louis and in New York from 1986-1990 ("Imam Fawaz Damra," 2001, p.1).

In 1991, Damra became head of the Islamic Center of Greater Cleveland Mosque in Parma, Ohio, where he currently serves as Imam. Over the last decade, Damra has become famous for his efforts to reach out to other religious faiths including the Jews and

Christians. In addition, he has been actively informing churches and schools about the Islamic culture and promoting the tolerance of interfaith (other religions). Preaching across religious boundaries that have forever divided the nation, Damra has received national praise from religious and civic leaders ("In Depth-Radical Imam," 2002, p. 2).

In addition to his religious accomplishments, Damra is an adjunct professor on Islamic Studies/Middle Eastern History and Arabic culture at John Carroll University, a small Catholic institution, Cleveland State University and Cuyahoga County Community College. On a national level, he is associated with many professional organizations including Islamic Society of North America, Council on American Islamic Relations, Islamic Council of Ohio, Shari' a Scholars Association of North America, Catholic-Muslim Dialogue and Cleveland Council of Imams ("Imam Fawaz Damra," 2001, p. 2).

Purpose of Study

This study takes a look at *The Cleveland Plain Dealer's* coverage of Imam Fawaz Damra. Renown for his leadership and efforts to unite all religious faiths, it is important to see how a mainstream newspaper portrayed this minority (Muslim) leader before and after a period of controversy.

Review of Literature

This review of literature is based upon research that explains the theoretical grounding of this study as well as previous research about the media coverage of minorities. The theory that formulates this study is framing theory. The studies reported in this review of literature will examine what frames are, some types of frames and how they are used in news stories.

Framing

According to Watkins (2001), journalism is a professional field established on the morals of reporting news effectively and should serve as a reflection of the society on which it reports. Thus, researchers assert that news is a man-made cultural product. In the course of making news, journalists often make framing judgments or decisions regarding how to deliver real world events in an understandable manner. Tuchman (1978) states that, "Frames turn unrecognizable happenings or amorphous talk into a discernible event...without the frame, they would be happenings of mere talk, incomprehensible sounds"(p. 192). Goffman (1974) asserts that, "...In order to negotiate, manage, and comprehend a complex social world, everyone practices framing" (p. 467). Gitlin (1980) acknowledges that "Frames enable journalists to process large amounts of information quickly and routinely: to recognize it as information, to assign it cognitive categories and to package it for efficient relay to their audiences" (p.7). Journalists' ability to select and organize data from the world into frames makes the labor of news production more manageable (Watkins, 2001).

Many researchers over the years have offered useful definitions of framing that help to understand how journalists create frames. Gamson and Modigliani (1987) conceptually define a media frame as "a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events... The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue" (p.143). Entman (1993) also offers a useful definition of frames:

> Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication

> text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (p.52).

Watkins (2001) asserts that "Framing is an active process, a distinct mode of cultural production informed by a system of professional repertoires, values regarding what constitutes news and access to sources that enable journalists to routinely construct and produce news discourse" (p.84). According to Tankard (2001), framing must also be understood as an expression of power, particularly as it affects audience recognition and understanding of social problems and political issues. When the media proceed to frame stories, they take elements of culture, magnify them, frame them and feed them back to an audience.

Those conceptual definitions point out that journalists actively create frames to help package information for efficient delivery to their audiences. Therefore, the framing or presentation of events in the mass media can affect how recipients of the news come to understand those events. Establishing the definition of framing allows an insightful look at the true power the news media has over public expression and opinion. In addition to knowing the function of a frame, it is equally important to note what aspects of a story the media look at when framing a particular event (Scheufele, 1999).

According to Miller and Riechert (2001), journalists use a variety of tactics to analyze a story: text analyses, review of informed writings or discussions, depth or focus interviews and ethnography. The media use particular elements of these tactics to establish frames. Frames can be detected by establishing the presence or absence of certain key words. Those keywords do not represent the frames, rather the words are

indicative of perspectives by which issues and events can be discussed and interpreted. In addition, Tankard (2001) offers a list of framing mechanisms, or focal points for identifying frames: headlines and kickers, subheads, photographs, photo captions, leads, selection of sources or affiliations, selection of quotes, pull quotes, logos, info graphics, and the concluding statements or paragraphs of articles.

Determining which type of framing to use also depends on the different types of news stories or events that are being portrayed. There are several different types of framing that the media use. According to Watkins (2001), three distinct frames situate most news reporting practices: legitimate controversy, consensus, and deviance. Each frame has its own distinct style of news reporting. In the frame of legitimate controversy, journalists strive to achieve objectivity and balance. Legitimate controversy is how most of television news reporting is framed. Examples include coverage of issues that are easily framed in point/counterpoint terms such as presidential elections and abortion.

However, in the consensus frame, journalists stray away from objectivity. Within this area, journalists do not feel compelled to present opposing views or to remain distant observers. In contrast to legitimate controversy, the journalist's role is to serve as an advocate or celebrant of consensus values. This type of framing tends to occur during moments of national celebration (presidential inauguration), national crisis (war), or national mourning (death of a prominent figure). In addition to the sphere of legitimate controversy and consensus is deviance, or those persons and events viewed by journalists as outside the boundaries of normative behavior. In cases like these individuals or events become newsworthy precisely because they can be portrayed as violating the taken-for-granted values and beliefs of society in some important way. In this instance, the news

becomes a boundary-maintaining mechanism. When operating from this frame, journalists play the role of exposing, condemning, or excluding from the public agenda those who violate or challenge the political consensus. Journalists mark out and defend the limits of acceptable conflict (Watkins, 2001).

Framing Minorities

Usually when journalists cover issues or events that are controversial or that go against the majority of the society, they rely on legitimate controversy, consensus and deviance to frame particular stories or events. This is especially evident in the news coverage of minorities. For example, in the media coverage of blacks during the Civil Rights riots of the 1950s, the use of legitimate controversy, consensus, and deviance can be identified. Coverage of the riots included the image of angry blacks, angry police officers, water hoses, police dogs, and clouds of tear gas. These types of front-page images depicted blacks as disrupters of the peace. It also exposed blacks as deviant characters, who violated the normality of society through their violent behavior (Hon, 1997).

In addition, the riots were constructed as controversial because they challenged the consensus or the majority of the society, which were the ideals of white America. During that time, those ideals included the separatism or segregation of blacks on public buses, in public restaurants, in public restrooms, and in public schools. By magnifying the violent images of blacks rioting and causing chaos, the media served as advocates of the majority of society by condemning the deviant role of blacks. This type of coverage of blacks, viewed by whites, made it difficult for blacks to obtain their civil rights. With so many images of deviance playing upon the conscious of whites, it was difficult to be

accepting of blacks' quest for equality. Thus, the media's framing of the civil rights riots made it easy for whites to exclude blacks' efforts to gain their civil rights and to embrace the images that were delivered to them by the media (Domke, 1997).

The same types of frames presented by the media during the Civil Rights riots resurge during the coverage of the 1992 Los Angeles Riots (L.A. riots). Sparked by the delivery of a not-guilty verdict rendered to white police officers accused of the brutal beating of a black man named Rodney King, the news coverage of the L.A. riots captured the retaliating images of blacks burning buildings, looting stores and others participating in physical violence such as the vivid beating of a white truck driver, Roger Dennings. Local television stations, via cameras mounted to helicopters and crews on the ground, covered the event and broadcast it live interrupting scheduled programs and again recapping the event on the evening news of all major television networks (Heider, 1997).

Once again, the role of blacks seen in the news media left them labeled in a deviant manner and presented them in a controversial way. The media depicted blacks as disruptive and as criminals. Portrayed by the media in this manner, blacks found it difficult to justify their reasons for their anger. Just as the riots of the Civil Rights era, their quest for justice was overlooked and their anger and disruptiveness exploited (Heider, 1997).

Another example of how the news media have portrayed racial and religious minorities can be seen in Abhinav Aima's (1999) article on the framing of Saddam Hussein. In this article, the author points out how the framing of Saddam Hussein by *Time Magazine* changed over a period of time. He contributes this change to the shift of U.S. Foreign Policy. According to Aima, in the 1980s, *Time* did not refer to Hussein in a

negative way. Only after Saddam Hussein's 1992 invasion of Kuwait, which initiated the U.S. Persian Gulf War and a change in U.S. Foreign Policy, did the magazine begin to portray him in such a manner.

Thus, when Hussein invaded Kuwait, he no longer complied with the U.S. Foreign Policy. Therefore, he stepped outside the ideals of the majority. Advocates of society, journalist of *Time Magazine* condemned the actions of Saddam Hussein by demonizing his character, referring to him as a "villain," a "dictator" and a "butcher." This framing of Saddam Hussein demonstrates the straying of journalist away from objectivity to the role of exposing and condemning a man who they felt challenged the political consensus by violating U.S. Foreign Policy (Aima, 1999).

According to Watkins (2001), all three of the frames—legitimate controversy, consensus, and deviance, can be identified in journalists' media coverage of the 1995 Million-Man March. Journalists labeled the event as controversial because it invited black men only. The media accused marchers of ignoring the interests of others such as black women and whites and warned the march would pull the nation apart. In essence, the media disavowed the Million Man March and refused to act as a celebrant of the march because it did not conform to the majority of societies' views.

The most recognizable aspect of the media coverage of the march deals with deviance and is centered on Islamic Minister Louis Farrakhan, known for his racist rhetoric against Jews and Whites. Because his values went beyond the norm, Farrakhan became the source of conflict. His profile became a news worthiness that drove the majority of the March's framing. The news media framed the march as racist by exposing its leader as a racist and the march itself as exclusionary. Ultimately the

media's framing of the march as racist reduced the amount of potential viewers as well as potential marchers. The framing of the Million-Man March demonstrates how the media situated specific elements of the story to establish their own interpretations (Watkins, 2001).

As previously stated, the sphere of legitimate controversy, consensus, and deviance are used by most journalists to situate or to frame stories. In order to examine if these frames were present in the news coverage of Imam Damra, the following research questions are proposed:

RQ1 How was Imam Damra framed prior to the September 11th terrorist attacks?

RQ2 How was Imam Damra framed immediately after the September 11th terrorist attacks?

RQ3 How was Imam Damra framed after his established connection with the terrorists and the discovery of his anti-Semitic comments about Jews?

Methodology

In order to answer those research questions, the researcher identified and duplicated all articles dealing with Imam Fawaz Damra that appeared in *The Cleveland Plain Dealer*. *The Cleveland Plain Dealer* was selected for analysis because it was the largest circulating newspaper in Ohio and it extensively covered the Imam from the beginning of his reign as religious leader of the Islamic Center of Greater Cleveland mosque. The time frame for analysis began on February 23, 1993 and ended on November 11, 2001. This time phrase was selected because it marks the newspaper's beginning coverage of Damra and follows through the period after the September 11th

terrorist attacks. In all, 27 articles were identified. The researcher qualitatively analyzed all articles.

The articles were initially divided into three different time periods in order to detect any changes in the framing of Imam Damra—Before September 11th, After September 11th /Pre-disclosure and After September 11th/Post-disclosure. It is essential to define each time period in order to understand the findings:

Before September 11th

Articles that were printed on the Imam before the September 11th terrorist attacks.

After September 11th /Pre-disclosure

Articles that were printed on the Imam after the September 11th terrorist attacks, but before the release of the videotape of Imam making racial slurs against Jews and before his established connection to the terrorists.

After September 11th/Post-disclosure

Articles that were printed on the Imam after September 11th and after the release of the videotape of Imam making racial slurs against Jews and his established connection to the terrorist.

Unit of Analysis

For each of those three time periods, two units of analysis were created: Characterization and Subject/Theme.

Characterization deals with how Imam Damra was portrayed in the articles throughout each of those three time periods. This unit of analysis is divided into two sub-categories—favorable and unfavorable. In order to determine if an article was in favor of Damra or not in favor, the language of the article was examined. The researcher looked

for the specific use of catch phrases and adjectives used to describe Damra. An article that mentioned Damra could be said to portray him favorably if it attributed positive traits to his personality by using appropriate adjectives (spiritual, religious, leader, mediator, healer, etc.), by associating him to actions that in the U.S. perspective amount to positive connotations such as peace and reconciliation or if Damra was judged to be working in the good interests of the Muslim people and/or other religious faiths.

An article that mentioned Damra could be said to portray him unfavorably if it attributed negative traits to his personality by using appropriate adjectives (former spiritual leader), by associating him to actions that in the U.S. perspective amounted to negative connotations such as terrorism and racism, or if Damra was judged to have a connection to the terrorists of September 11th. An article that advocated the need to remove Damra from his position as Imam of the Islamic Center of Greater Cleveland mosque could also be judged as an unfavorable portrayal.

The second unit of analysis is **Subject/Theme**, which is concerned with the main focus or topic of the articles content. This category is divided into two-sub categories—non-controversial and controversial. An article that mentioned Damra could be said to be non-controversial if the subject/theme is concerned with topics that promote his role as a religious leader, as a preacher of interfaith, and as a peacemaker. An article that mentioned Damra could be said to be controversial if the subject/theme is concerned with topics that weaken Damra's reputation by associating him with terrorists and accusing him of being a racist.

Results

After dividing all of the 27 articles—ranging from February 23, 1997-November 11, 2001, into three time periods, the following results were found: Six articles were printed involving Imam Damra before September 11th. Two articles were printed after September 11th/pre-disclosure and 19 articles were found during the period after September 11th/post-disclosure. Those articles were further analyzed to examine the characterization and subject/theme of Damra during those three time periods.

Before September 11th

Characterization of Imam Damra

Articles published before September 11th called Damra a respected and respectable spokesperson for the Muslim community. Often used as the only source in articles that discussed topics associated with the Islamic people, Damra was appointed by *The Cleveland Plain Dealer* as "the" expert on Muslim culture. Despite the presence of many other Muslim leaders in the Ohio area, the newspaper consistently included Damra as a source when covering the Muslim community.

In the first article published on February 23, 1993, *The Cleveland Plain Dealer* called Damra an "Islamic mediator" and a "spiritual leader." Published during the holy month of Ramadan (month when Muslims fast during daylight hours in observance of their belief that God revealed the holy book of Koran to the prophet Mohammed), Damra explained the culture and religious practices of the Islamic people. In this article, the newspaper relied on Imam Damra as a guide to a culture of which the reporters, editors or much of the reading public had little knowledge. This reliance was magnified the

following year on February 11, 1994 when Damra was again the only Muslim source used to discuss the cultural practices of Islamic believers.

In other articles before September 11th, *The Cleveland Plain Dealer* looks to Damra as a "guide" as the reporters and editors focused on controversial issues involving Islamic people. In an article about an Islamic-Jewish controversy, the newspaper established Damra as a peacemaker. Calling him a "spiritual leader," the newspaper sought his comments on the chances of peace between Muslims and Jews in his homeland after a massacre of a mosque in Hebron, south of Jerusalem, in which an American-born Jewish settler opened fire on Islamic worshipers (Rollenhagen, 1994). The newspaper portrayed Damra as a peacemaker again in a 1995 article. In this article, journalists highlighted Damra's opinion of Arab-American (Islamic) storeowners and what they should do about the recurring violence committed against them by blacks (Feutsch & Achkar, 1995).

In the final article about the Imam before September 11th, printed on February 3, 1997, *The Cleveland Plain Dealer* further enhance Damra's "spiritual leader" image by praising his efforts to reach out to other religious faiths such as Christians and Jews in the Cleveland community (Holland,1997). Thus, the articles before September 11th characterized Damra in a favorable way. Describing him as a spiritual leader, and anointing him as the sole Muslim mediator for his people, the newspaper presented a high level of regard and support for Damra.

Subject/Theme

In congruence with the characterization description of Imam Damra, the subject/theme of the articles focused on the culture of the Islamic people and issues of

controversy. Of the six articles printed before September 11th, four of them focus on Islamic cultural practices during the holy month of Ramadan. The other two articles deal with topics about controversial issues that Muslim face such as—the killing of Muslims (Islamic) by Jews in Hebron, south of Jerusalem and how Arab-American storeowners should deal with the violence committed against them by blacks. The subject/theme of the articles before September 11th mainly underline cultural and religious aspects about the Islamic people with a small focus on controversial issues facing Muslims during that time period.

After September 11th/Pre-disclosure

Characterization of Imam Damra

Though racial tensions between Muslims and other Americans flared after the September 11th attacks, *The Cleveland Plain Dealer* continued to portray Imam Damra as a "spiritual leader." The newspaper continued to acknowledge Damra as a respectable spokesperson of the Islamic community. Immediately after the September 11th attacks, committed by men of Islamic descent, once again, the newspaper looked to Damra as a "peacemaker." This was evident in the article headlined, "Muslims, Jewish leaders lament tragedies, urge calm, and reason." In this article, *The Cleveland Plain Dealer* turned to Imam Damra and this time—other minority leaders, for their reaction to the terrorist attacks. Just as the controversy before September 11th involving Islamic people prompted the newspaper to use Damra as a source of reason and opinion, the attack on September 11th equally demanded they rely on his input.

In the two articles printed after September 11th/pre-disclosure, Damra's character, already respected by *The Cleveland Plain Dealer*, was shown as sympathizing with

Americans and condemning the attacks committed by his Islamic brethren. "Like all Americans, we are horrified, upset and angry. As American Muslims, we think this is absolutely wrong. It's against all God's values. We are against all forms of terrorism," said Damra (Briggs, 2001, p.A2). These articles demonstrated *The Cleveland Plain Dealer's* supportiveness and respect for Damra even after the attacks. They also revealed the newspaper's ongoing pattern of using him as a spokesperson for his people in the midst of controversy.

Subject/Theme

The subject/theme of the articles printed on the Imam after September 11th/pre-disclosure explored topics about the stressed relationship, created by the terrorist attacks, between Muslims and other Americans. One article, "A day to heal and to reconcile," magnified Damra and his mosque's efforts to keep peace between Muslims and other Americans through a prayer gathering of all religious faiths— Christians, Jews and Muslims (Briggs, 2001, p. A2). Another article focused on the urgency to keep peace by presenting the voices of important Muslim and Jewish leaders. *The Cleveland Plain Dealer's* focus seemed to be concerned with the reaction of these leaders to the terrorist attacks of September 11th. In the articles immediately after the September 11th attacks before disclosure, the newspaper exemplified its faith in Damra as a "spiritual leader" as reporters and editors relied on him during this period of intense controversy involving Islamic people.

After September 11th/Post-disclosure

Characterization of Imam Damra

In the articles after the September 11th/post-disclosure, there is little reference to Damra as a "spiritual leader." Instead, *The Cleveland Plain Dealer* magnified Damra's Muslim identity by referring to him as a "Muslim leader" and a "Muslim Cleric." During this time period, there was only one reference to Damra as a "spiritual leader." Other articles printed by the newspaper during this period abandoned their previous reliance on Damra as a respected and respectable spokesperson for the Islamic community, even referring to him as a "former spiritual leader." This portrayal of Damra represented the first indication that the newspaper's framing of this religious leader had changed.

Subject/Theme

The subject/theme of this period focused on the exposure of Imam Damra's established connection to the terrorists of September 11th and his anti-Semitic remarks about Jews a decade before. The first article of exposure was on September 27, 2001. This came after the broadcast of a 1991 videotape of Damra making anti-Semitic remarks about Jews at a function to raise money for radical Islamic groups or a Palestinian "jihad (holy war)." Damra's remarks called for the killing of Jews and referred to them as "the sons of monkeys and pigs." It was also discovered that many of the suspects of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing case attended the same Brooklyn, New York, mosque as Imam Damra ("Muslim Cleric," 2001). This past connection with those terrorists prompted *The Cleveland Plain Dealer* to question Imam Damra's association with the terrorists of September 11th.

The newspaper launched a series of articles attacking Damra's past. These articles made up 19 of the 27 articles printed about the Imam compared to only six articles printed before September 11th and two after September 11th/pre-disclosure. This increase in the coverage of the Imam reflected *The Cleveland Plain Dealer's* drive to investigate the allegations that associated Damra with the terrorists of September 11th and to exploit his racist remarks about Jews. Every article printed during this time period exposed the Imam's past and questioned his ability to function as a competent leader of the Islamic Center of Greater Cleveland mosque.

Other articles focused on the reaction of Damra and his religious peers with regard to the allegations of anti-Semitism. Repeating such phrases as, "his words will forever soil his reputation," *The Cleveland Plain Dealer* capitalized on the controversy surrounding Damra's past (Briggs & Garrett, 2001, p. A1). Even after the printing of an apology from Damra, the newspaper continued to print articles reiterating his racial slurs about Jews and his connection to the terrorists.

The newspaper even printed a political cartoon about Damra. It depicted him driving into the side of a synagogue in a car with a bumper sticker referring to the Taliban. Damra expressed his outrage about the cartoon and called it a "hate crime." He asked that the newspaper apologize. However, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* editor, Douglas C. Clifton responded, "...It's the stuff of a democratic society" (Briggs, 2001, p.A1).

Thus, the subject/theme of the articles after September 11th/post-disclosure selected Damra's past as the salient topics of their news coverage. This was a tremendous change from the usual cultural/religious and reconciliation topics found in

the articles before September 11th and during the period after September 11th/pre-disclosure.

Discussion

This study indicates that *The Cleveland Plain Dealer* uplifted Imam Damra to an important city, regional and possibly national "spiritual leader" of the Muslim faith. The newspaper repeatedly used him as an expert and depended on his guidance when covering issues about the Islamic culture. The subject/theme of the articles before September 11th focused on Damra in a religious and cultural context.

However, after the disclosure—the discovery of the 10 year-old videotape of Damra hurling racial slurs at Jews and his established connection to the terrorists of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, *The Cleveland Plain Dealer* began to divert its attention to digging up the Imam's past and castigating the religious leader. In all, *The Cleveland Plain Dealer* printed a total of 19 articles on Imam Damra's fall from grace, compared with only six articles before September 11th and two during pre-disclosure. In those 19 articles, the newspaper deviated from its earlier positive portrayal of Damra to a much less supportive image. Referring to him as a "former spiritual leader" and the continuous mentioning of his racial identity as a "Muslim leader" is evidence of a change in the character portrayal of Imam Damra by the newspaper.

The subject/theme of the articles also underwent a change. Prior to September 11th the newspaper dealt with religious/cultural topics—such as the holy month of Ramadan along with slight controversial issues involving the Islamic people. The articles after September 11th/pre-disclosure magnified Imam Damra as a competent, reliable leader who could help to calm and unite people during a time of stressed race relations.

However, the subject/theme of religion and culture and the insistence of unity were subtracted from the news coverage after the disclosure of Damra's past.

Conclusions

According to this study, framing is a process used by journalists to interpret real world happenings. When the media proceed to frame stories, they take elements of society, magnify them, frame them and feed them back to an audience (Tankard, 2001). In addition, framing involves the selection and salience of specific issues that occur in society (Entman, 1993). This process of selection allows journalists to decipher important issues from large amounts of information. In turn, the labor of news production is made more manageable and understandable for the media and society.

Though the ability of journalists to frame stories makes news more understandable, framing can also be misleading. When journalists fail to objectively reflect all of society, frames become distortions of reality. In previous studies on the coverage of minorities, journalists show little regard for portraying the reality of minorities. Rather, journalists look to the majority of society as their standard to frame what are important aspects of news stories and what are not. This is especially true during periods of social and political controversy. In these situations, journalists usually magnify the interests of the majority and guard against all outside ideals.

For example, during the racial tensions between blacks and whites in the 1950s and 60s, the tendency of journalists to act as advocates of the majority of society can be seen. During the Civil Rights riots of the 1950s, blacks did not gain their civil rights because the media chose to conform to the ideals of white America (majority) by exposing and condemning blacks as disrupters of the peace, rather than magnifying

blacks' long-time fight for equality. Until blacks converted to the ideals of society through nonviolent protests, like the 1963 March on Washington, the media showed little support in portraying their struggles (Hon, 1997).

This type of framing resurfaced in the coverage of blacks during the 1992 L.A. riots. Journalists chose to magnify blacks looting and fighting in the streets of Los Angeles, rather than address the issues of police brutality committed by white police officers against blacks—which sparked their violent actions (Heider, 1997). In the demonizing frames of Saddam Hussein by *Time Magazine*, we see again how journalists frame minorities when they go against the majority. Before Hussein violates the U.S. foreign policy, coverage of him is objective—neither positive nor negative. However, after his violation, Hussein is created as a "villain" by the news media (Aima, 1999).

The 1995 *Million-Man March* adds to this ongoing pattern. Journalists criticized the March for excluding whites (majority), rather than portraying the March as a promotion of black unity. The media proceeded to downplay the march by attacking Islamic leader Louis Farrakhan, leader of the March, portraying him as a "racist" leader (Watkins, 2001). Thus, the power of frames are conflicting rather than organizing when they do not reflect the interests of all of society.

The framing of Imam Fawaz Damra by *The Cleveland Plain Dealer* is very much in keeping with the previously published studies on racial and religious minorities in the mainstream media. *The Cleveland Plain Dealer's* framing of Islamic leader Imam Damra demonstrates how journalists can make certain aspects of a story more salient than others. Glorifying Damra before September 11th and immediately after the September 11th attacks (pre-disclosure), the newspaper crowned Damra as a respectable, spiritual

leader because he conformed to the ideals of society. Thus, the newspaper praised him while he preached across religious boundaries and promoted peace during a period of racial tension between Muslims and other Americans.

However, after the disclosure of Damra's alleged connections to the terrorists and the release of a 10 year-old videotape of the leader hurling racial slurs about Jews, the newspaper refocused its coverage of Damra and redefined the Imam's character. *The Cleveland Plain Dealer* focused its coverage on digging up Damra's past. As a result, the paper showed a Damra with a damaged reputation and a subject of controversy. Creators of Damra's graceful role as a competent and spiritual leader, a preacher of interfaith, and as a reconciler of peace; the newspaper was also responsible for his demise, for his fall from grace.

Future Research

Continued studies on the framing of racial and religious minorities by the mainstream media should be a priority of researchers. In such a diverse society, the media have a critical responsibility to present news effectively and accurately. Thus, more qualitative and quantitative content analysis of media coverage should be considered in order to measure that accuracy. If researchers ignore this problem and journalists are allowed to continue to exclude the ideals of minorities, then journalism becomes no better than tabloid news and no longer serves as a true reflection of society.

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Silencing the Voice of the Minority

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<ABSTRACT>

Silencing the Voice of the Minority

This paper compares coverage of two newspapers—the *Los Angeles Times* in the United States and the *Chosun Ilbo* in South Korea—about the civil disturbance following the Rodney King verdicts in Los Angeles in 1992 to explore whether the media kept Korean-American views out of the marketplace of ideas by portraying events in ways that did not include Korean-American voices.

It shows that Korean-Americans' voices were limited in the *Los Angeles Times*, both in the quantity and quality of coverage, especially in comparison with the *Chosun Ilbo*. It concludes that the *Chosun Ilbo* coverage demonstrated that more stories about Korean-Americans could be written and that they could contain more Korean-American voices. The *Los Angeles Times* should have covered the Korean-Americans more thoroughly because they were clearly involved in the conflict. The physical devastation to Korean-Americans during all of this was enormous, exceeding half of the damage that Los Angeles suffered in the spring of 1992. But in many ways the Korean community's loss of its voice was equally devastating to its people.

Silencing the Voice of the Minority

Andy Warhol once said, "Isn't life a series of images that change as they repeat themselves?" This statement could well be revised to read, "Isn't history a series of events that change as they repeat themselves with different players?" This is especially true in the case of ethnic conflicts in Los Angeles.

A newspaper story about the 2001 mayoral election in Los Angeles points out a split between blacks and Hispanics in mayoral votes. The story starts with an interview of a black woman who joined moderate and conservative white voters to elect James K. Hahn their next mayor because she didn't like the other candidate, Ruby Taylor, who had hoped to become the first Latino mayor in that city. She said, "I've been watching what Spanish people [have] been doing, making black people move out [of] their houses."[1] This statement seems to clearly represent the general attitude of African-Americans toward Hispanic-Americans. Meanwhile, the newspaper headline, "Los Angeles Race Bares Divisions,"[2] was nothing new to people who had been living in Los Angeles or who were aware of racially related events that happened in Los Angeles.

The most vivid instance of racial division was illustrated by TV images of Korean shopkeepers firing at African-Americans to protect their businesses amid the burning, looting, and violence that followed the acquittal of four white police officers accused of the videotaped beating of black motorist Rodney King in the spring of 1992. Three days of burning, looting, and violence resulted in fifty-eight deaths, 2,500 injuries,

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[1] Todd S. Purdum, *Los Angeles Race Bares Divisions*, N.Y. Times, June 10, 2001 at 20.

[2] *Id.*

16,000 arrests, and nearly one billion dollars of property damage and loss.[3] Roughly half of the buildings that were either severely damaged or destroyed during the civil disorder were either Korean owned or operated.[4] Twenty-seven years earlier, during the Watts insurrection in 1965, Jewish merchants were subject to African-Americans' anger and frustration.

Thus, history repeated itself with different players in one of the most colorful cities in the United States, Los Angeles. Race conflicts between African-Americans and other minorities repeated themselves with different counterpart players: Jews in 1965, Koreans in 1992, and Hispanics in 2001.

This paper concerns the violence and destruction following the Rodney King verdicts when anger toward Whites made Blacks attack Yellows: Korean-Americans. The concern of this paper is not why it happened, but how it was understood. Since Walter Lippmann proposed a concept of "the world outside and the pictures in our heads,"[5] many scholars have discussed how the media "paint" the pictures outside and transfer those pictures into the heads of the public. The role of the media on this matter was especially important during and after the civil disorder. According to the a state assembly-sponsored Committee Report, however, minority communities believed that media failure to adhere to the principles of accuracy and fairness in reporting contributed to the manner in which events unfolded during the civil disorder.[6] Some

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[3] James H. Johnson, Jr. & Walter C. Farrell, Jr., The Urban Crisis: The Kerner Commission Report Revisited: The Fire This Time: The Genesis of The Los Angeles Rebellion of 1992, 71 N.C.L. Rev. 1403, 1403.

[4] *Id.* at 1409.

[5] Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (1922).

[6] Assembly Special Committee, "To Rebuild Is Not Enough: Final Report and Recommendations of the Assembly Special Committee On the Los Angeles Crisis," [Online]. Available: [illegible] [2001, November 26].

Korean-Americans have criticized the media for being too eager to sensationalize by excluding Korean perspectives and stereotyping the immigrant community.[7]

Did the media keep Korean-American views out of the marketplace of ideas by portraying events in ways that did not include Korean-American voices? To answer this question, this paper will compare coverage of two newspapers—the *Los Angeles Times*, one of leading U.S. newspapers as well as the major local newspaper involved, and the *Chosun Ilbo*, the largest national newspaper in South Korea—about the "riot" or "uprising"[8] on April 29, 1992. Korean newspapers including the *Chosun Ilbo* routinely cover news about Korean-Americans. Comparing the *Los Angeles Times* coverage to that provided by a South Korean paper might show what the *Los Angeles Times* left out, if anything.

This paper will provide some background necessary to understand the aftermath of the Rodney King verdicts, and then it will discuss previous research related to the topic of this paper. Next, it will state the research questions and methods. Finally, it will discuss the results of the analyses and conclusions.

Background

Two important cases help explain the civil disorder in Los Angeles. One is the

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[7] See Elaine H. Kim, "Home is Where the *Han* is: A Korean-American Perspective on the Los Angeles Upheavals," *Reading Rodney King/ Reading Urban Uprising* (1993); Sumi K. Cho, "Korean-Americans vs. African-Americans: Conflict and Construction," *Reading Rodney King/ Reading Urban Uprising* (1993).

[8] Sometimes just one word constructs the meaning of the entire incidents. "Riot" suggests the incidents were not right, but "uprising" suggests the incidents were reasonable. Therefore, I use civil disorder or civil disturbance instead of "riot" or "uprising" in the later text.

Rodney King case that sparked the civil disorder. The other is *People v. Soon Ja Du*[9] that provoked African-Americans' wrath toward the judicial system and Korean-Americans. This section briefly provides the facts and outcomes of these two cases. A short summary of the civil disturbance and the toll of the violence are also provided in this section.

Rodney King Case

On the night of March 2, 1991, Rodney Glen King was driving at a very high rate of speed with two friends when he was signaled to stop by two California Highway Patrol officers. However, because King was drunk he ignored the flashing lights of the patrol car and ran a red stoplight—nearly causing an accident—before he finally came to a stop. Within seconds, three Los Angeles police cars and a police helicopter arrived at the scene.

In the process of arresting King, three officers of the LAPD—Laurence Powell, Timothy Wind, and Theodore Briseno—kicked, stomped on, and beat Rodney King with metal batons while a fourth officer, Sergeant Stacey Koon, looked on. They said they suspected that King was an ex-convict who was using drugs at the time, and they were afraid of King's heavy body and bizarre behaviors.

The noise and lights from this incident awakened George Holliday in his apartment, and this amateur cameraman began recording as King rose to his feet and charged in the direction of Officer Powell. Holliday's recording of these events, however, comes into focus only as Officers Powell and Wind began striking King with their metal batons. Before King was finally handcuffed about a minute-and-a-half later,

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[9] 5 Cal. App. 4th 822; 1992 Cal. App. LEXIS 525; 7 Cal. Rptr. 2d 177 (1992).

Holliday's camera recorded Officers Powell and Wind kicking and beating King with their batons more than fifty times. Holliday's camera also recorded Officer Briseno stomping on King's shoulder, making King's head hit the asphalt hard.

On March 4, Holliday took his film to Los Angeles television station KTLA. News producers at KTLA found the tape shocking and played it on the evening news. CNN picked up the tape the next day, and soon it was broadcast everywhere. A poll taken in Los Angeles after the tape had been running showed that 92 percent of those polled believed that excessive force was used against Rodney King. Soon the California Attorney General's Office began to prosecute the four LAPD officers involved in King's arrest.

The outcome of this case seemed self-evident because the videotape was likely to secure a conviction. The case became complicated and somewhat favorable to the defense, however, when the California Court of Appeals granted a change of venue motion and removed the judge from the case on account of bias. The new judge who was reassigned to the case decided to schedule the trial in Simi Valley, a conservative and predominantly white city.

The twelve jurors, all but two of whom were white Americans, debated the officers' fate for seven days. In the afternoon on April 29, 1992, with the exception of a single charge against Officer Powell upon which a mistrial was declared, the jury of six men and six women found all four officers not guilty on every count.[10]

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[10] *See* Dough Linder, "The Trials of Los Angeles Police Officers' in Connection with the Beating of Rodney King," [Online]. .Available: http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/lapd/lapdaccount.html [2001, November 5].

People v. Soon Ja Du

Two weeks after the Rodney King beating, on the morning of March 16, 1991, Soon Ja Du, a 51-year-old Korean woman, was serving two customers at the Empire Liquor Market, one of two liquor stores owned and operated by her and her family. She was alone in the store that morning and had a reason to fear local gang members because they had threatened her son.

Latasha Harlins, a 15-year-old black girl, entered the store, selected a bottle of orange juice, put it in her backpack, and proceeded toward the counter. Soon Ja suspected Latasha would shoplift and accused her of trying to steal the orange juice. An altercation started; Soon Ja began pulling on Latasha's sweater, but Latasha resisted and hit Soon Ja in the eye with her fist twice.

With the second blow, Soon Ja fell to the floor behind the counter and then picked up a stool from behind the counter and threw it at Latasha, but it did not hit her. After throwing the stool, Soon Ja reached under the counter, pulled out, with some difficulty, a gun. As Latasha turned to leave, Soon Ja shot her in the back of the head, killing her instantly.

The jury found Soon Ja Du guilty of voluntary manslaughter, and Soon Ja was sentenced to ten years in state prison. However, the judge decided to place Soon Ja Du on five years probation because the probation officer concluded "the defendant would be most unlikely to repeat this or any other crime if she were allowed to remain free."[11] She was required to perform six months of community service.

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[11] 7 Cal. Rptr. 2d 177, 181.

The Civil Disturbance

On Wednesday, April 29, 1992, less than two hours later after the non-guilty verdicts of Rodney King case were announced, the deadly Los Angeles disturbances of 1992 had begun. The violence and destruction continued for the next three days. Mayer Tom Bradley declared a local state of emergency and issued a dusk-to-dawn curfew prohibiting people from being on the street during nighttime hours. Schools and businesses were closed. He prohibited the sale of firearms and gasoline to Los Angeles citizens. Governor Pete Wilson dispatched 4,000 National Guard troops to help quell the rampage in Los Angeles.

As lawlessness continued, President George Bush called for a stop to "anarchy" on the streets of Los Angeles. On May 1 (Friday), National Guard Units were "federalized" by President Bush and supplemented by another 4,000 Army and Marine troops.[12] By midnight Friday, the civil disorder was over. By Monday, May 4, schools and businesses reopened, and life returned to some semblance of normality.

The toll[13] from the worst civil disorder in Los Angeles was devastating: More than 50 killed, over 2,000 injured. According to the mayor's office, the estimated property damage was $ 550 million.[14]

Meanwhile, the nation's largest Korean-American community was devastated too. Korean-Americans were the prime victims partly because Koreatown is located in South-Central Los Angeles, the area that was at the heart of the civil disturbances. Three

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[12] Emergencynet News Service (ENN), "Three Days of Hell in Los Angeles," [Online]. Available: http://www.emergency.com/la-riot-.htm [2001, November 23].

[13] The exact data about the toll is hard to obtain. The numbers differ according to sources and the dates when the information is published.

[14] Dean E. Murphy & Jim Newton, *Bradley Lifts Curfew Tonight; But Troops May Stay For Weeks, Mayor Says; Unrest: Grocery Stores Slowly Reopen As City Moves Toward Stability. School Will Resume And Electricity Is Restored To Many*, L.A. Times, May 4, 1992, at A1.

days of burning and looting damaged 1,720 Korean-owned businesses and caused one Korean-American death and some 50 injures.[15] The estimated property damage of Korean-Americans was $ 307.9 million, more than half the total damage that Los Angeles suffered.[16]

The 1990 census showed that 145,000 people of Korean extraction lived in Los Angeles County,[17] although local estimates put the number much higher.[18] Nearly half of this population supports itself with small retail businesses. By the community's own count, the civil disturbances affected more than a third of the 6,000 Korean-owned businesses in the county. More than half of all businesses destroyed during two days of looting and arson were Korean-owned.[19]

Literature Review

Although there is a fairly large amount of literature about the 1992 civil

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[15] Pauline Yoshihashi & Sarah Lubman, *Koreatown Residents Aim To Rebuild*, Wall Street Journal, May 4, 1992 at A6.

[16] *Property Damage of Korean-Americans Exceeds 300 Million Dollars*, Chosun Ilbo, May 5, 1992, at 2.

[17] The Los Angeles data for 1990 show a very racially and ethnically diverse community where the racial and ethnic composition has changed dramatically during the last two decades. From 1970 to 1990, L.A. County and South Central L.A. became more heterogeneous, and both areas are now much more ethnically diverse than the United States as a whole. While a portion of the African-American population in L.A. County remained constant, whites fell from 71% of L.A. County's population in 1970 to 41% in 1990. The Hispanic share of the population rose from 15% to 37%, and the Asian share rose from 2.5% to 10.5% (Denise DiPasquale & Edward L. Glaeser, "The Los Angeles Riot and The Economics of Urban Unrest," November 1996 [Online]. Available at http://www.cityresearch.com/pubs/la_riot.pdf [2001, November 23]). Korean Americans shared over 40% of Asian population in Los Angeles County (Bureau of Census, Statistical Abstract of the U.S.).

[18] "The Korean-American community in Los Angeles, which numbers an estimated 460,000, constitutes the largest Korean population outside of South Korea" (Irene Chang And Greg Krikorian, *30,000 March In Koreatown Show Of Support*, L.A. Times, May 3, 1992, at A1).

[19] Seth Mydans, *Koreans Rethink Life in Los Angeles*, N.Y. Times, June 21, 1992 at 16.

disorder, only three pieces of research addressed how the media that covered the civil disorder represented minorities. One article was written by a Japanese-American (Ikemoto) and, two were written by Korean-Americans (Cho and Kim). Those three articles will be discussed here.

Ikemoto explored the media coverage of the racial conflict and tension that erupted in Los Angeles after the verdicts in terms of the master narrative of white supremacy. She assumed first that people interpret their experiences by referring to familiar narrative about the world, and therefore they use racism to explain their relations with other groups because they live within a society pervaded by racism.

Then, she "traced" three master narratives she said were exposed in the media reportage about racial conflicts in the 1992 civil disorder. First, Korean-Americans and African-Americans competed for a too small piece of the economic pie. In the fray, many different claims to entitlement were made. The premise was that African-Americans have been waiting in line longer than Korean-Americans, who had cut in line. Second, Korean-Americans were immigrants who came to Los Angeles later than African-Americans. Korean-Americans were still foreigners and therefore less American. In adopting this nativist position, African-Americans positioned themselves as whites relative to Asians. On the contrary, when Korean-Americans responded by placing themselves within the American Dream, they positioned themselves as whites relative to blacks. Third, Korean-Americans are merchants. African-Americans are not simply criminals, but they are most likely poor because shoplifting and looting are considered crimes of poverty.[20] She concluded that these three master narratives were reflected in the television coverage of the civil disturbance that repeatedly showed

[20] Lisa C. Ikemoto, Traces of the Master Narrative in the Story of African-American/Korean-American Conflict: How We Constructed "Los Angeles", 66 S. Cal. L. Rev. 1581, 1584-1593.

Latasha Harlins (the alleged shoplifter) and Soon Ja Du (the shop owner), gang member looters, and armed Korean storeowners.

Finally, Ikemoto concluded that the construct of conflict defines African-American and Korean-American identities in opposition to each other. And within the construct, "the perceived failure of racial diversity concludes that the disorder is caused by multiculturalism."[21]

Cho said that manipulation of Korean-Americans into a "model minority"[22] contributed to "triple scapegoating" following the King verdict. The first layer of attack came from those who targeted Korean-owned stores for looting and arson. The second layer consisted of those in positions of power who choose to protect white and wealthy communities rather than Koreatown, Pico Union[23], and South Central Los Angeles. The final scapegoating came at the hands of the media, eager to sensationalize the events by excluding Korean perspectives from coverage and stereotyping the immigrant community,[24] Cho said.

On the issue of media reportage, she argued that two different groups of journalists—conservative and liberal representatives of the media—manipulated the

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[21] *Id.* at 1596.

[22] "A primary function of the model minority myth is to divide Asian Americans from other people of color and to justify the subordination of other "minorities." The myth first identifies Asian Americans as a "minority group," setting them up for comparison, and thereby competition, with others identified as minorities. Then Asian Americans are identified as the "model" of these minority groups, the ones to be emulated. The model minority myth does not simply divide minorities from each other. It goes deeper to justify the subordinated position of each of these groups. The result is the message that since model minority Asian Americans have succeeded, African-Americans are themselves responsible for their situation." (Natsu Taylor Saito, Alien and Non-Alien Alike: Citizenship, "Foreignness," and Racial Hierarchy in American Law, 76 Or. L. Rev. 261, 311-313.)

[23] Pico Union is home to many immigrants from Latin America and Asia and is located west and south of Downtown Los Angles.

[24] Sumi K. Cho, at 197.

image of Korean-Americans according to their ideologies. According to Cho, conservative journalists held up Korean-Americans as hard-working and law-abiding citizens, a model minority and "legitimate victims" deserving praise and sympathy. On the other hand, liberal journalists, who were already distressed by the not-guilty verdicts of the Rodney King case, sought to redeem themselves by deflecting white guilt by providing critical coverage of Korean-Americans. In that, "from this angle, Korean-Americans, not white Americans, became the primary provokers of racism against African-Americans. Korean aggression against African-Americans was the focus, with depictions of armed shopkeepers and the last seconds of the videotape showing Soon Ja Du shooting Latasha Harlins repeatedly taking center state to deflect white guilt."[25]

Kim blamed the U.S. news media for aggravating the damage and ill will toward Korean-Americans, first by focusing on tensions between African-Americans and Koreans, and second by exploiting racist stereotypes of Koreans as aliens. She especially accused news programs and talk shows in which African-American and Korean-American tensions were almost always discussed by blacks and whites who pointed to these tensions as the main cause of the disturbance. She concluded Korean-Americans were used to disperse attention from the racism, the economic injustice, and poverty that had been already well woven into the fabric of American life.[26]

Ikemoto's analysis of the master narrative of white supremacy places Korean-Americans as objects of the narrative. Korean-Americans are not those who speak but those who are dictated by the master narrative. The discourse analysis is interesting and insightful, but it has a defect because it is easy to believe that there is a unilateral master

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[25] *Id.* at 203-204.

[26] Elaine H. Kim, at 221.

hand controlling the whole discourse and that players in the discourse become powerless.

Next, Cho and Kim pointed out some problems regarding the media reporting in their discussion of the civil disturbance, however they failed to provide full-scale analysis of media coverage because they aimed to understand the civil disturbance itself from the relationship between Korean-Americans and African-Americans (Cho) and from the positions of Korean-Americans who commonly share the feelings of the *Han*[27] (Kim). They included media coverage in analyzing the civil disorder from their perspectives and mainly criticized television news and talk shows that portrayed Korean-Americans fighting with or oppressing African-Americans. In addition, their criticism came from their personal observations, not from full-scale analysis of media reportage.

More importantly, although all of these discussions nicely point out problems of media reportage related to the civil disturbance in Los Angeles, they do not explore whether the media coverage adequately represented Korean-American views. Therefore, a comparison of coverage by two newspapers of the civil disturbance following the Rodney King verdicts in Los Angeles is warranted.

Research Questions and Method

This paper addresses the following research questions.

1. How did the *Los Angeles Times* report issues related to Korean-Americans in its coverage of the civil disorder in Los Angeles in 1992?

[27] Kim defined *Han* like this: "*Han* is a Korean word that means, loosely translated, the sorrow and anger that grow from the accumulated experiences of oppression." (*Id.* at 215.)

2. How did the *Chosun Ilbo* report issues related to Korean-Americans in its coverage of the civil disorder in Los Angeles in 1992?
3. Do the answers to the first two research questions suggest that the *Los Angeles Times* kept Korean-American views out of the marketplace of ideas by portraying events in ways that did not include Korean-American voices?

To explore these research questions, this paper analyzes stories published in the *Chosun Ilbo* and the *Los Angeles Times* during the first five days of reportage about the civil disturbance in Los Angeles in 1992. The *Chosun Ilbo* is selected among major national Korean newspapers in South Korea because it has the largest circulation in South Korea and it has had several journalists stationed in the United States including Los Angeles.[28] In addition, the *Chosun Ilbo* sent a special team of journalists to Los Angeles to cover the civil disorder.

A search of electronic databases is used to identify stories about both Korean-Americans and the civil disturbance. Following this method, fifty-six stories from the *Chosun Ilbo* and forty-two stories from the *Los Angeles Times* are selected. To analyze these stories, content analysis and simple statistical methods are used.

Results and Discussion

Undercoverage of Korean-Americans

Several tables show how the two newspapers covered the civil disturbance. One

[28] It is possible to subscribe the hard copy version of the *Chosun Ilbo* in the U.S. although there is no local office of the *Chosun Ilbo* in the United States so the newspaper is sent by air mail from Korea. Meanwhile, the *Consun Ilbo* provides some selected stories that are translated into English, Chinese, Japanese at http://english.chosun.com and special stories for Koreans in the U.S. at http://usa.chosun.com.

of most notable findings is that the *Los Angeles Times* published fewer stories about Korean-Americans in the civil disturbance than the *Chosun Ilbo* reported. During the first[29] five days of reportage about the civil disturbance, fifty-six stories that were about the civil disorder as well as about Korean-Americans were reported in the *Chosun Ilbo* (the table 1-1), but only forty-two stories were in the *Los Angeles Times* (the table 1-2).

Table 1-1. Number of Stories by Date (Chosun Ilbo)

	Number of Stories	Percent
May 1	8	14.3
May 2	13	23.2
May 3	15	26.8
May 4	7	12.5
May 5	13	23.2
Total	56	100.0

Table 1-2. Number of Stories by Date (L.A. Times)

	Number of Stories	Percent
April 29	1	2.4
May 1	10	23.8
May 2	9	21.4
May 3	12	28.6
May 4	10	23.8
Total	42	100.0

Meanwhile, all stories reported in the *Chosun Ilbo* were focused primarily on the involvement of Korean-Americans. However, in case of the *Los Angeles Times*, most stories were not focused primarily on the involvement of Korean-Americans. One the *Los Angeles Times* story, for instance, was an interview with African-American rappers who accused Korean-Americans of racism.

More specifically, among forty-two stories in the *Los Angeles Times*, only six stories were focused primarily on Korean-Americans. Twenty-eight stories (67 percent of those studied) merely mentioned issues related to Korean-Americans, and, in some cases, those mentions were less than one paragraph. In addition, eight stories that contained references to Korean-Americans focused primarily on African-Americans

[29] The civil disorder happened on April 29 and lasted until May 1. The first five days of reportage consist of coverage of two days when the civil disorder was on the way, and the other three days after the aftermath. A 12-hour time difference between South Korea and the U.S. (ETS standard) explains why the first two stories about the civil disorder were reported on April 30 in the *Los Angeles Times* and on May 1 in the *Chosun Ilbo* even though the civil disorder was reported at the same time.

(see the table 2).

Table 2. Number of Stories by Ethnic Focus (L.A. Times)

	Number of Stories	Percent
Reports Focusing on Korean Americans	6	14.3
Reports Mentioning Korean Americans	28	66.7
Reports Focusing on African Americans	8	19.0
Total	42	100.0

In addition, the length of stories focused primarily on Korean-Americans was shorter in the *Los Angeles Times* than that of stories focused primarily on African-Americans. As table 3 shows, the average number of words in stories focused primarily on Korean-Americans was 664; all fell into categories of either short or middle-length stories. In contrast, the average number of words in the eight stories focused primarily on African-Americans was 1095; seven were middle-length stories, and one was a long story.

Table 3. Average Length of Story by Ethnic Focus (L.A. Times)

LENGTH

Ethnic Focus	Average Number of Words
Reports Focusing on Korean Americans	663.50
Reports Mentioning Korean Americans	1765.54
Reports Focusing on African Americans	1095.00
Total	1480.38

Table 4. Ethnic Focus by Length Crosstabulation (L.A. Times)

Count

	Length of Stories			
	Short (Below 700 Words)	Middle (700 ~ 1600 words)	Long (Above 1600 Words)	Total
Reports Focusing on Korean Americans	3	3		6
Reports Mentioning Korean Americans	3	11	14	28
Reports Focusing on African Americans		7	1	8
Total	6	21	15	42

The undercoverage of Korean-Americans by the *Los Angeles Times* is clear when it is compared with the reportage of the *Chosun Ilbo*. In the *Chosun Ilbo*, the average number of words in all stories focused primarily on Korean-Americans was 1,454.

Emphasis on Conflicts v. Emphasis on Damage & Efforts to Recover

One table for each newspaper indicates the kinds of stories in each newspaper published during the first five days of coverage. Which topic was most often reported in the *Chosun Ilbo*? First, 27 percent of stories were about the property damage to Korean-Americans. In addition, the peace rally[10] held by Korean-Americans—and their efforts to recover damages and seek reconciliation with African-Americans—were the next most often reported topic. Six stories by columnists analyzed reasons that Korean-Americans were the main victims of the civil disturbance and then made suggestions for

[10] On Saturday morning, May 2, an estimated 30,000 (according to the *Los Angeles Times*) ~ 100,000 (according to the *Chosun Ilbo*) Korean-American marched for racial healing and peace through Los Angeles' Koreatown. The marchers—some wearing white headbands of mourning, some carrying brooms and plastic garbage bags—came from San Diego, Laguna Niguel, Santa Monica and the South Bay in response to appeals from Korean-language radio stations. The peaceful march proceeded along Olympic Boulevard, Western Avenue, 3rd Street and Vermont Avenue.

improving relations with African-Americans. Stories about how to apply for and receive emergency aid, along with reporting on various responses in South Korea, formed 9 percent each. There were three stories about "Self-Guard," a group of armed Korean-Americans who fought to protect their lives and property.

Table 5-1. Number of Stories by Kinds of Content (Chosun Ilbo)

	Number of Story	Percent
Property Damage of Korean Americans	15	26.8
Peace Rally & Efforts to Recover	8	14.3
Analysis	6	10.7
Emergency Awards & Aids	5	8.9
Responses in South Korea	5	8.9
"Self-Guard"	3	5.4
Etc	14	25.0
Total	56	100.0

In contrast, the most often reported topic in the *Los Angeles Times* was the hostility that African-Americans felt toward Korean-Americans or conflicts between these two groups. Thirty-one percent of the reportage studied was about this hostility and conflicts. The second most often reported topic was the property damage to Korean-Americans, 21 percent. The third most often reported topic was the peace rally and efforts to recover. Interestingly, there were five stories about the response of the South Korean government or visits by South Korean politicians, but there was only one story concerned with emergency aid. This seems to indicate that Korean-Americans were viewed as "Korean" not "American" and therefore that the Korean not American government would be responsible for helping to pay their damages. Considering that the property damage that Korean-Americans experienced exceeded half of the total property damage that Los Angeles suffered during the civil disturbance, the fact that there was only one story related to such emergency aid clearly showed reportage in the *Los Angeles Times* had tendency to exclude the concerns of Korean-Americans.

Table 5-2. Number of Stories by Kinds of Content (L.A. Times)

	Number of Stories	Percent
Hostility & Conflicts	13	31.0
Property Damage of Korean Americans	9	21.4
Peace Rally & Efforts to Recover	6	14.3
Responses of South Korean Government	5	11.9
"Self-Guards"	3	7.1
Emergency Awards & Aids	1	2.4
Etc	5	11.9
Total	42	100.0

Meanwhile, two cross-tabulations of kinds of content by date indicate the change of reportage over time. Although these two tables do not suggest that kinds of content changed significantly over time, the *Los Angeles Times* tended to emphasize in its reportage the hostility and conflicts during the first two days.

Table 6-1. Kinds of Content by Date Crosstabulation (Chosun Ilbo)

Count

	DATE					
	May 1	May 2	May 3	May 4	May 5	Total
Property Damage of Korean Americans	4	5	4	1	1	15
Peace Rally & Efforts to Recover			1	4	3	8
Analysis		3			3	6
Emergency Awards & Aids			1	1	3	5
Responses in South Korea	1	1	3			5
"Self-Guard"			2	1		3
Etc	3	4	4		3	14
Total	8	13	15	7	13	56

Table 6-2. Kinds of Content by Date Crosstabulation (L.A. Times)

Count

	DATE					
	April 29	May 1	May 2	May 3	May 4	Total
Hostility & Conflicts	1	5	3	1	3	13
Property Damage of Korean Americans		3	2	4		9
Peace Rally & Efforts to Recover			1	3	2	6
Responses of South Korean Government			1	1	3	5
"Self-Guards"			2	1		3
Emergency Awards & Aids				1		1
Etc		2		1	2	5
Total	1	10	9	12	10	42

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Frequent Mentions Of The Latasha Case

There were fifteen stories reminding readers of the Latasha (*People v. Soon Ja Du*) case in the *Los Angeles Times*, and nine stories in the *Chosun Ilbo*. For example, the *Los Angeles Times* described the Latasha case as an injustice of the judicial system, another cause of African-Americans' looting stores owned by Korean-Americans. The newspaper articles portrayed the story as that of a young, unarmed black victim (Latasha) killed simply for taking a bottle of orange juice from a greedy Korean merchant (Soon Ja Du). For example:

> A looter carrying beer out of a liquor store angrily compared the King verdict with that of a Korean-born grocer who recently was granted probation after being convicted in the shooting of a 15-year-old black girl she had accused of attempting to steal a bottle of orange juice.[31]

> I heard over and over again that it wasn't just the Rodney King verdict that set the night on fire. The name of Latasha Harlins was mentioned often. She was the 15-year-old black girl shot in the back by Korean grocer Soon Ja Du, who was fined $500 and put on probation by a white judge, Joyce Karlin. Anger over the mild verdict has never subsided.[32]

> The Simi Valley verdict -- and the woefully inadequate sentence meted out to the killer of 15-year-old Latasha Harlins, shot by a Korean grocer -- just added to the growing sense that African-Americans do not get a fair shake in the American criminal justice system.[33]

> There has been occasional tension between them [Koreans] and some black

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[31] Marc Lacey & Shawn Hubler, *Rioters Set Fires, Loot Stores; 4 Reported Dead; Rampage: 106 Are Wounded Or Injured And More Than 150 Blazes Are Ignited. Bradley Considers A Curfew*, L.A. Times, April 30, 1992, at A1.

[32] Al Martinez, *Al Martinez: Scenes From The Battlefield*, L.A. Times, May 1, 1992, at B2.

[33] *Stop The Violence, Start The Renewal; The King Verdict Spawns Unwarranted Violence, But Also Acts Of Courage And Leadership That Show The Way To A Better Future*, L.A. Times, May 1, 1992, at B6.

> customers, most notably as a result of the Latasha Harlins slaying. (Harlins, a black 15-year-old, was shot to death by a Korean grocer, who eventually was convicted of involuntary manslaughter and received what amounted to a wrist-slap sentence.)[34]

Moreover, all but one of those references of the Latasha case were made by African-Americans or by journalists in the *Los Angeles Times*. Korean-Americans had almost nothing to say about the Latasha case or the conflicts between them and African-Americans. In contrast, in the *Chosun Ilbo*, the stories about the Latasha case often included explanations of the danger that Korean-American merchants felt when they had African-American customers. For example, "Seven Korean-American shop owners were killed by African-American burglars or gangs in Los Angeles last year."[35] The *Chosun Ilbo* also criticized Korean-Americans' prejudices about African-Americans and described more facts of the case to explain in greater detail the situation of Soon Ja Du.

"They Brought It On Themselves..."

Some stories in the *Los Angeles Times* quoted African-Americans saying essentially that Korean-Americans did bad things to African-American and therefore deserved these tragedies. For example:

> Though some of those who smashed windows and set fires said they were acting in response to the King case, others said they were expressing outrage over what they see as a general pattern of racism typified by the verdicts. Some Korean merchants, who have clashed with black customers in the past, saw their

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[34] *The Open Wound That Los Angeles Must Now Work To Heal; As Law Enforcement's Presence Grows, Appeals From The President And Rodney King Set The Tone*, L.A. Times, May 2, 1992, at B9.

[35] *A Cause Of Conflicts Between Korean-American And African-American: The Sun Ja Du Case*, Chosun Ilbo, May 1, 1992, at 2.

businesses burned.[36]

One looter, casually walking along Western Avenue with a brand-new stereo speaker, voiced the outrage of many black residents toward some of the immigrant merchants: "These businesses (we) burned down don't care about us," he said. ..... "They just charge high prices and take our money. Now we are taking some back."[37]

Ward said she can sense a feeling of suspicion when she walks into her neighborhood grocery store, which happens to be owned by Koreans. "You can feel it. You walk into the store and they think you are going to steal something."[38]

A woman I talked to last week used that as a reason why she, a normally law-abiding citizen, walked into the rubble of a torched liquor store on Western Avenue and picked up a box of cigars. She said she couldn't stand the Korean-American owner. I asked her why. "Because the first time I walked into the store he didn't say 'Hi,' or 'Good morning.' He said 'Hey, Ma-ma' -- trying to talk as if he thought that's how black people talk. How dare he! He thought so little of me, thought so little of my community that he didn't even bother to find out the most basic things about us.[39]

But one golfer, Roy Taylor, a black sanitation worker who said a close friend was killed by a Korean merchant last year, admitted he could not help feeling hostile toward Koreans even as he watched television footage showing their stores being burned and looted. "If they had more

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[36] Victor Merina & John Mitchell, *Opportunists, Criminals Get Blame For Riots*, L.A. Times, May 1, 1992, at A1.

[37] Jonathan Peterson & Hector Tobar, *Column One; South L.A. Burns And Grieves; Life Has Been Hard In The Neglected Area For Years. But Now, As Self-Inflicted Wounds Mount, Residents Fear For The Future*, L.A. Times, May 1, 1992, at A1.

[38] Santiago O'donnell, *The King Case Aftermath; Youths Stare Into The Face Of Bias Every Day; Prejudice: Many Teen-Agers Who Grew Up In Ventura County Say They Are Bombarded By Messages Of Fear And Intolerance*, L.A. Times, May 3, 1992, at B1.

[39] Janet Clayton, *Column One; When Loving L.A. Turns To Heartache; A Woman Who Came Of Age During The Watts Rebellion Sees Years Of Disrespect Explode In Anger And Frustration*, L.A. Times, May 4, 1992, at A1.

understanding and patience, it never would have happened," said Taylor, who said he refuses to patronize Korean merchants. "I felt they brought it on themselves."[40]

A Few Stories Quoted Korean-Americans...

A few stories in the *Los Angeles Times* allowed Korean-Americans to express themselves on the issues of why they decided to bear arms, how police abandoned them when they desperately needed their help, and how they were planning to recover damages and build on peaceful racial relationship. Still, those stories were relatively rare. For example:

> Korean shop owners and their supporters have lashed out at police, saying they have begged for protection from vandals, who have left a swath of Koreatown in ashes. Now, many have decided to fight for themselves. "Where are the police? Where are the soldiers?" asked John Chu, who was vacationing in Los Angeles when the riots broke out and rushed to help Rhee defend the California Market. "We are not going to lose again. We have no choice but to defend ourselves."[41]

> In Koreatown, about 600 demonstrators demonstrated to remind Bradley and others of their urgent need for help. "We are here to let the government know we exist," said Cho Yong Jain, the organizer of the rally. "We thought the police would help us and take care of our security. It hasn't happened."[42]

> Meanwhile, in Orange County, other Korean-Americans sought to assist

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[40] Kim Kowsky & Bernice Hirabayashi, *Tensions Add Awkwardness To Everyday Encounters; Race Relations: Mistrust Is Pervasive. Even Small Talk And Forced Politeness Point To A Heightened Unease*, L.A. Times, May 4, 1992, at A1.

[41] Ashley Dunn, *King Case Aftermath: A City In Crisis; Looters, Merchants Put Koreatown Under The Gun; Violence: Lacking Confidence In The Police, Employees And Others Armed Themselves To Protect Mini-Mall*, L.A. Times, May 2, 1992, at A1.

[42] Paul Lieberman & Dean E. Murphy, *King Case Aftermath: A City In Crisis; Bush Ordering Troops To L.A.; Police Struggle To Get Upper Hand In Turmoil; Unrest: Deaths Placed At 40, Eclipsing The Watts Riots. Injury Total Is 1,899 Since Outbreak Of Violence Wednesday*, L.A. Times, May 2, 1992, at A1.

> riot victims. Members of the UC Irvine Korean-American Student Assn. attended Saturday morning's peace rally and march held in Los Angeles' Koreatown, which was attended by more than 10,000. Some students stayed to clean up the neighborhood. "We're also going to clean up on Monday," said association president Joni Byun.[43]

On the contrary, Korean-Americans' voices delivered through the stories in the *Chosun Ilbo* were much louder and stronger. A story dedicated to a round-table talk among five Korean-Americans in Los Angeles, for instance, represents well what Korean-Americans wanted to say:

> Heemyung Lee: I can't trust the police. The first riot happened far from Koreatown, but rioters flocked toward Koreatown because the police set up a barricade around Beverly Hills only. I happened to hear a rumor that the police made rioters go toward Koreatown.
> Byungsoo Lee: The day after my store was looted, I called the police over ten times; no response.
> Youngok Lee: Among various reasons why Korean-Americans took enormous property damages, one reason that can't be ignored is that the state government and the police didn't actively protect Korean-Americans. I couldn't see any policeman in Koreatown, but there was no damage in the area where I lived and most residents were white Americans.
> Byungsoo Lee: I paid taxes for 20 years here, and I think I have a right to get help from the U.S. government. However, I can't trust the promise of immediate aid. Korean-Americans are not likely to receive aids from the U.S. government because loans from the Small Business Administration require documentation that most informally-operated Korean businesses don't have.
> Youngmo Ahn: Most customers of Korean-American merchants are African-Americans, but Korean-Americans don't understand African-Americans. I think conflicts between Korean-Americans and African-Americans arise from misunderstanding.

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[43] Rose Kim, *A City In Crisis; O.C. Korean-Americans Aid Riot Victims*, L.A. Times, May 3, 1992, at A30.

Jinhyung Kim: Now it's time to seek for ways to improve the relationship. African-Americans should try to understand cultural differences. Korean-Americans should reflect on their conduct and support African-American communities by encouraging learning and investing money.[44]

Conclusion

Korean-Americans were clearly under-covered in the *Los Angeles Times*. Among forty-two stories on the civil disturbance that at least mentioned Korean-Americans in the *Los Angeles Times*, only six stories were focused primarily on Korean-Americans.[45] Those six stories were short or medium length at best, with an average of only 664 words each. However, fifty-six stories were focused primarily on Korean-Americans in the *Chosun Ilbo*.

While the Korean newspaper *Chosun Ilbo* reported primarily on the property damages of Korean-Americans and the community's peace rally, the *Los Angeles Times* emphasized the hostility and conflicts in the community, especially during the first two days of reportage. Consequently, the *Chosun Ilbo* emphasized the sorrows and frustrations of Korean-Americans and their work towards peace, whereas the *Los Angeles Times* emphasized the civil disorder and implied that Korean-Americans were to blame.

In addition, when these two newspapers reported the Latasha (*People v. Soon Ja Du*) case, the *Chosun Ilbo* included explanations of the danger that Korean-American merchants felt when they had African-American customers and the situation that Soon

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[44] *"Three days of Nightmare" Described By Korean-Americans In Los Angeles*, Chosun Ilbo, May 3, 1992, at 5.

[45] Approximately five hundred stories related to the civil disorder were reported in the *Los Angeles Times* during the first five days. Therefore, six stories out of five hundred stories are pretty small.

Ja Du had to deal with. In contrast, the fifteen *Los Angeles Times* stories that mentioned the Latasha case portrayed the case as an act of brutality by a greedy Korean merchant against a young, unarmed black victim. Moreover, all but one of those references to the Latasha case were made by African-Americans or by journalists. Therefore, Korean-American points of view about the Latasha case were hardly represented. Similarly, the *Los Angeles Times* reported African-Americans when they said that the Korean community deserved to suffer. On this point, the Korean-American point of view was severely limited by insufficient coverage.

In sum, Korean-Americans' voices were limited in the *Los Angeles Times*, both in the quantity and quality of coverage, especially in comparison with the *Chosun Ilbo*. The *Chosun Ilbo* coverage demonstrated that more stories about Korean-Americans could be written and that they could contain more Korean-American voices. The *Los Angeles Times* should have covered the Korean-Americans more thoroughly because they were clearly involved in the conflict. The physical devastation to Korean-Americans during all of this was enormous, exceeding half of the damage that Los Angeles suffered in the spring of 1992. But in many ways the Korean community's loss of its voice was equally devastating to its people.

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The Black Press and the Integration of Baseball: A content analysis of changes in coverage

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Abstract

This study analyzes black press coverage of both the Negro leagues and major league baseball before and after Jackie Robinson broke baseball's color barrier with the Brooklyn Dodgers in April 1947. The study employs a content analysis of columns and articles before integration and after Robinson's signing. The results are meant to contribute to an understanding of the role of the black press in achieving integration and the newspapers' conflicted relationship with Negro league baseball.

End of abstract

Key words: Black press, Negro leagues, integration, major league baseball, Pittsburgh Courier, Chicago Defender, Jackie Robinson

More than 50 years ago Jackie Robinson, Lary Doby, and Roy Campanella cracked big league baseball's color barrier. They were joined by Don Newcombe, Monte Irvin, and Satchel Paige. But what of the other 400 or so Negro league ballplayers who soon after integration had no where to play? The bulk of sport history scholarship blames the integration of major league baseball for the demise of the Negro leagues (Mathewson, 1998, p. 291; Leavy, 1995, p. 38; Tygiel, 1997, p.14; Ribowsky, 1995; Peterson, 1970; Rogosin, 1983). Because the black press was so stridently in favor of integration, crusading for it for more than quarter-century (Lamb and Bleske, 1996), black newspapers have also been blamed for contributing to the Negro leagues' doom, especially by Negro league team owners and officials (Bruce, 1985, p. 53).

Championed by the black press, integration ironically reduced the number of opportunities for black ballplayers, managers, and owners. Integration erased from the black community an important part of its culture, identity, and heritage. The purpose of this study is to analyze black press coverage of both the Negro leagues and major league baseball before and after Jackie Robinson broke in with the Brooklyn Dodgers in April 1947. The amounts of coverage are quantified. In addition, this study employs a content analysis of columns and articles before integration, in 1945 and 1946, and after Robinson's signing, the seasons of 1947 and 1948. The results are meant to contribute to an understanding of the role of the black press in achieving integration, as well as the newspapers' conflicted relationship with Negro league baseball, itself a symbol for many of blacks' disenfranchisement and subordination in American society.

Literature Review

The black press as a research subject is more than a century old. Penn wrote *The Afro-American Press and Its Editors* in 1891. Scant little has been done, however, on the black press' coverage of and relationship with the Negro league baseball. Weaver provided in 1979 one of the first analyses of black press treatment of Jackie Robinson as the first black in 20th-century professional baseball, but the focus was on Robinson and the 1947 season.

Wiggins (1983) and Carroll (2001) analyzed the role in baseball's integration of the *Pittsburgh Courier* and its sports editor, Wendell Smith. Wiggins charted Smith's tireless campaign to open the big leagues to top black players, a course Wiggins finishes in 1945 with Robinson's initial signing by Branch Rickey. Carroll (2001) analyzed Smith's 1961 crusade to extend desegregation into spring training in Florida and Arizona. This study fills a gap between Wiggins' (1983) and Carroll's (2001) examinations, focusing on the key period 1945-1948. It also complements work by Lamb and Bleske (1998), which compares perspectives of the black press and mainstream press regarding Robinson's first spring training with Brooklyn in 1946.

As Brimmer noted (1966, p. 281), newspapers were in the mid-1940s among the largest black-owned businesses along with insurance, banking, numbers games (forerunners to the lottery), and owning a baseball team. Little research has been done, however, with the Negro leagues as a whole as the subject, a reflection and continuation of their "second-market" or "derivative" status. A great deal of work has been done capturing the recollections, experiences, and perspectives of the black players, however, and in compiling individual team histories.

Peterson's *Only the Ball Was White* broke ground in 1970 by providing the first comprehensive history of the Negro leagues in more than six decades. In it, however, the black press is little more than a footnote. Subsequent historians have paid more attention to the role of

the black press, in particular Ribowsky, who was very critical of black sportswriters' fickle coverage of black baseball and their little regard for what integration would do to the Negro leagues. Ribowsky's *A Complete History of the Negro Leagues: 1884 to 1955* is a seminal work in scope and insight into the Negro leagues' place in American culture. Because the book relies so heavily on the black papers, they are prominent in it, but coverage is not analyzed in any systematic way.

Historians of the black press generally have turned a blind eye toward the careers of sportswriters. Considered by some to be the definitive history of the black press, *The Black Press, U.S.A.* (Wolsely, 1990) has no mention of Wendell Smith and Chester Washington of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, nor of Joe Bostic of the Harlem *People's Voice.* The volume only briefly comments on Sam Lacy of the Baltimore *Afro-American*, a legendary and prolific writer still regularly writing in his 90s. Lacy filled in some of the gaps himself by writing an autobiography with help from Newson in 1998.

Almost completely ignored in popular accounts of the integration of baseball and in histories of the sport in general, sportswriters at black papers have received better treatment in academic scholarship, due mainly to a small circle of historians, which includes Tygiel, Lamb, Reisler, and Wiggins. In several books Tygiel comments on the sportswriters' campaign against Jim Crow and for the integration of baseball, a crusade that began in the late 1920s. Tygiel's *Baseball's Great Experiment* gives a great deal of credit for Robinson's big break to Smith, Bostic, and Lacy. These black sportswriters "informed the American people of the existence and injustice of Jim Crow athletics" while falling victim to it themselves, Tygiel wrote (p. 35).

Reisler has perhaps written most extensively on black sportswriters, including in his compilations the writers' coverage of the Negro leagues. His volume, *Black writers/black*

baseball: An anthology of articles from black writers who covered the negro leagues, includes rich biographical information on Smith and Washington of the *Courier*, Lacy, Bostic, Frank Young of the *Chicago Defender*, and others.

This research stands on several important histories of individual Negro league teams, as well. Among them are Bruce's of the Kansas City Monarchs (1985), Bankes' of the Pittsburgh Crawfords (2001), Debono's of the Indianapolis ABCs (1997), and Overmyer's of the Newark Eagles (1998). Each is admirable scholarship in the wake of more than a half-century of neglect. In addition to Ribowsky's volume, more general Negro league histories have been written by Holway (1988), Rogosin (1983), Ruck (1993), Tygiel, and, a century ago, by White (1995), each at least briefly commenting on the roles of the black press. The principal paper being examined here, the *Pittsburgh Courier*, is the subject of a rich history by Buni -- *Robert L. Vann of the Pittsburgh Courier: Politics and Black Journalism* (1974).

This research fills a gap in *quantifying* of coverage by the black press of the Negro leagues and the major leagues, as well as in analyzing changes before and after integration in 1947. The lack of empirical evidence of changes in coverage prompted this exploratory study, as did the relatively spare amount of study of news weeklies as opposed to dailies (Lacy, et al., 1995). Research has shown the value in attempting to measure bias in media coverage over time. Brodie, Brady and Altman (1998), for example, examined media coverage of managed care over a nearly eight-year period. Their findings showed changes in tone and bias, which were categorized into three broad eras – early years, middle, and later years. This study, too, looks at time periods in its attempt to detect and describe changes in coverage. The amounts of coverage and changes over time are examined, a methodology proven effective in content analysis (Alenad, 1991).

Based on previous research and the literature reviewed, two research questions are proposed:

RQ1: How did integration of major league baseball affect the amount of black press coverage devoted to the Negro league baseball? Because the black press worked with very limited resources (Reisler, 1994, p. 2), it is assumed that integration would necessitate a shift coverage to the major leagues at the expense of Negro league coverage. By quantifying the amount of coverage devoted to each pro baseball organization before and after integration, the assumption can be empirically tested.

RQ2: How did integration affect the nature of black press coverage of Negro league baseball? It is also assumed that black press interest in Jackie Robinson and freshly integrated big league play affected the *nature* of coverage of the Negro leagues, making it less comprehensive and perhaps less supportive. By quantifying the type of coverage before and after Robinson's breakthrough, this assumption can be tested, as well (Williams, 1987, abstract).

Method

Two weekly black newspapers – the *Pittsburgh Courier* and the *Chicago Defender* were content analyzed from 1945 through the baseball season of 1948 as integration progressed from a possibility to a probability to, finally, reality. Since the focus of the research was to examine characteristics of black press coverage of the Negro leagues, a content analysis seemed most logical. It is a scientific research method that allows for "objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication (Krippendorf, 1970, p. 21).

The nationally distributed *Pittsburgh Courier* was selected because the *Courier* was in the mid-1940s the nation's largest black newspaper (Reisler, 1994, p. 2). The weekly had a peak

circulation during the period of between 250,000 and 350,000. The study also draws on the coverage of the *Chicago Defender*, the United States' second-largest black news weekly during the period studied (Mott, 1962, p. 795).

Because baseball's integration was primarily covered as a sports story but not exclusively so, the population was defined as encompassing *news stories* and *columns* on professional baseball appearing anywhere in the two newspapers. News stories are defined as "all non-advertising matter in a news product" (Riffe, Lacy and Fico, 1998, p. 112). News stories are primarily staff-produced. Columns are opinion pieces written by a single editor, reporter, or writer appearing usually on editorial pages, op-ed pages, and, especially for the purposes of this study, in the sports pages. Many black press sportswriters beginning in the late 1920s had their own regular columns (Reisler, 1994, p. 4). Stories were sampled from a period encompassing two seasons prior to and two seasons subsequent to Jackie Robinson's signing with the Brooklyn Dodgers.

To prepare a population of black press articles, issue dates from spring training through the championship games for each of the four seasons were selected, a period covering March through October for the years 1945-1948. One of the four or, in some cases, five March issue dates was randomly selected for each season as a starting point. For subsequent dates, alternating weekly issues were examined and analyzed for the remainder of that newspaper's baseball season coverage. This method produced for the *Pittsburgh Courier* 56 issue dates (14 per year) and 487 individual articles, and for the *Defender* also 56 issue dates containing 375 articles. Lacy, Robinson, and Riffe (1995) studied sampling of newspaper weeklies and concluded that a researcher should either "randomly select fourteen issues from a year, or pick twelve issues, one

from each month" (p. 344). Since this study looks only at baseball coverage, or the eight months of the baseball season March through October, 14 issues was deemed sufficient sampling.

Negro leagues refers primarily but not exclusively to two groups of six black teams – the Negro National League, founded in 1920, and the Negro American League, founded in 1937. The Negro American League lasted longest, folding in 1960 (Dickson, 1989, p. 272). Other black baseball leagues were formed but were short-lived and financially unsuccessful. For the purposes of this study, *integration* refers to the signing of Jackie Robinson to a major league contract in April 1947, making him a member of the Brooklyn Dodgers and beginning the migration of top black players from the Negro leagues to the major leagues. Robinson played 1946 with the Dodgers' farm team, the Montreal Royals, after becoming in August 1945 the first 20th century black to sign with a major league organization. It is acknowledged that integration was far more complicated. It was a process, not a point on a timeline. The black press began crusading for integration in the 1920s and continued through the early 1960s, when desegregation in spring training and in the minor leagues still was being fought (Carroll, 2001).

Major independent variables included (1) sources attributed in the story; (2) story prominence within the issue; (3) inclusion of photography; (4) amount of coverage per issue devoted to each league; and (5) tone of coverage (positive or negative). The dependent variable was the type of coverage (= boosteristic, very supportive, supportive, and neutral).

Using Scott's pi, the rate of agreement ranged across variables from 100% for manifest content issues, such as issue domination and use of graphics, to a low of 72% for sources attributed/cited, also a manifest content issue. Disagreements over sources attributed centered on *Courier* columns by Jackie Robinson, with one coder attributing them to a major league source (Robinson) and another determining that no sources were attributed since the columns were

entirely in first person. This disagreement was reconciled, with Robinson categorized as a major league source, and a second intercoder reliability test generated a Scott's pi of 87%. Scott's pi yielded an intercoder reliability for direction of treatment of 81%.

To combine several coding units, an index was developed: Carroll's Scorecard for Baseball Coverage by the Black Press. Developing an index is often more valuable than simply measuring or counting since indices take into account more factors (Budd, Thorp, and Donbow, 1967, p. 43; and Berelson, 1952, p. 146). Studies of editorial bias have tended to rely on measurements of space devoted to one or more issues, as Holsti observed (1969, p. 49). A coding system, which assigns weights to the following factors, was employed:

Carroll's Scorecard for Baseball Coverage by the Black Press Before and After Integration

Placement on page one, Sports section (variable 4)	1 point
Bylined article by newspaper's staff (variables 5 and 6)	1 point
Prominence in headline (variable 7)	1 point
Primacy in the article (variable 8)	2 points
Appearing in issue dominated by coverage of subject's league, Negro League or Major League (variable 10)	1 point
Appearing with photo (variable 11)	1 point
Article treats subject positively (variable 14)	2 points
Article relies on subject league sources (variable 17)	1 point
total	10 points

Scoring the coverage:
Boosteristic – Nine or all ten points out of possible 10.
Very Supportive – Seven or eight points out of possible 10.
Supportive – Six points.
Neutral – Five points or fewer.

For the scorecard, primacy in the article was worth two points to reward substance of coverage. Photography appearing with an article was assigned one point because articles appearing with one or more photos have higher readership. Graphics were not assigned points, however, because in more than 90% of the cases in which graphics appear in the *Pittsburgh*

Courier and *Chicago Defender* articles studied here, they were box scores and, therefore, not substantively a contributor to readership.

Positive treatment also was assigned two points because it was possible to meet all other criteria but still be treated/covered negatively. For the variable, "direction: positive or negative treatment," an article, editorial, or column was deemed "positive" toward subject matter (Negro leagues or major leagues) if it included any one of the following:

- encouragement of attendance at games of subject league
- criticism of attendance at "other" league
- praise of subject league members, officials, players, and/or owners
- criticism of rival league members, officials, players, and/or owners
- reference to or description of value to community/nation of subject league or the importance of its success/continued success
- reference to or description of threat to community/nation of rival league or of its success/continued success
- celebration of some aspect of subject league, its teams, players, representatives or former players and representatives (as opposed to direct praise); example: celebratory account of East-West all-star game and its festivities

The range of possible values included "extremely positive," an aggregate of three or more of the above. One or two of these attributes equated to the article being described as "somewhat positive." An article, editorial, or column was deemed "negative" toward subject matter (Negro leagues or major leagues) if it included any one of the following:

- encouragement of attendance at games of rival league
- criticism of attendance at subject league
- praise of rival league members, officials, players, and/or owners
- criticism of subject league members, officials, players, and/or owners
- reference to or description of value to community/nation of rival league
- reference to or description of threat to community/nation of subject league
- celebration of some aspect of rival league, its teams, players, representatives or former players and representatives (as opposed to direct praise)

The range of possible values included "extremely negative," an aggregate of three or more of the above. One or two of these attributes meant that the article was deemed "somewhat

negative." "Neutral" describes articles in which position-taking on issues was avoided and/or in which merely a general record of event was reported.

The rationale for terminology used in variable 14 – extremely positive, positive, etc. – comes from van Driel and Richardson (1988). Extremely positive, for instance, according to van Driel and Richardson, "means that the paragraph defends and supports the group, and/or allegations of opponents are rejected; there is no sign of suspicion or rejection of the group" (p. 42).

Results

RQ1: How did integration of major league baseball affect the amount of black press coverage devoted to the Negro league baseball?

The data indicate that the amount of coverage devoted to the Negro leagues declines as 1947 approaches and continues to decline for the two seasons after Robinson's signing, at least in terms of domination of issues by total number of column inches (see Table 1). Inversely,

[Table One displayed here]

coverage of the major leagues increases over the period, at least in the sample collected for this study, increases. When combining the two weeklies, the number of issues dominated by the Negro leagues drops from 24 in 1945 to 10 issues for each of the 1947 and 1948 seasons, while the major leagues go from four issues dominated in 1945 (including three in the *Courier*) to quadruple the total in both 1947 and 1948. The totals for the *Courier* indicate a direct inverse relationship in coverage before and after integration, at least in terms of issues dominated. The Negro leagues dominated 11 *Courier* issues in 1945 to three for the major leagues, the opposite of 1948, when it is the major leagues dominating 11 issues.

Breaking it down to individual article level, the numbers of photos appearing with stories also change during the period studied. Only one major league story ran with a photo in 1945, that of Jackie Robinson's signing by Brooklyn in October (see Table 2). By 1947, the total was 35 stories, or almost double the number of Negro league stories running with at least one photo that

[Table Two displayed here]

same season. These disparities occurred despite a much larger well of stories for the Negro leagues versus for the major leagues, especially in 1945 and 1946. For the period covered, there were more than twice as many Negro league stories than major league stories (578-267). The coverage also shows an overall yearly increase in the number of baseball stories and columns appearing with at least one photo, regardless of league covered.

A story on the major leagues was more likely to appear with a photo and was typically longer than were articles about the Negro leagues. For all baseball coverage, articles ranged in

[Table Three displayed here]

size from one column inch to 43 column inches (Robinson's signing in 1946), with a mean length of 7.2 inches and a standard deviation of 5 inches. Major league stories had a mean length of 8.3 inches, 64% longer than the mean length of Negro league articles.

Major league stories also were much more likely to carry a byline, indicating on-site reporting and allocation of very limited human resources. Black press staffs were notoriously small (Reisler, 1994, p. 2). The increase in overall number of stories is a tribute to their productivity. In 1945, six Negro league stories carried bylines to four for the major leagues. In 1947, with Robinson playing a full season in Brooklyn, the ratio swung in favor of the major leagues by a margin of 24 to 2.

Columnists Wendell Smith for the *Courier* and Fay Young for the *Defender*, too, discernibly shifted attention to the major leagues. Combined, 11 of the pair's columns in 1945 focused on the Negro leagues, while five centered on the major leagues. By 1947, it was 20 to 6 in favor of the major leagues, indicating, too, more attention on baseball in general with the coming of integration. The ratio held steady in 1948 at 21 to 5 major league coverage.

There is evidence the newspapers were attempting to keep up with both leagues, at least in terms of straight sports coverage. After a combined 105 game summary stories in 1945, all of them Negro league since integration was a year away, the papers printed 121 Negro league game summaries in 1946, 97 in 1947, and 71 in 1948, all while coverage of major league games was on the rise – from 0 to 34 for the period studied, a period during which only a handful of big league teams integrated.

Analyzing the use of sources showed that for articles in which the major leagues were the primary topic, sources were far more likely to be quoted or attributed than in Negro league coverage, and that those sources were almost always affiliated with the major leagues. About half of all major league stories in the sample attributed or quoted league sources, compared to 7% of Negro league stories. For all stories, the two papers cited sources only about one-fourth the time, however, indicating that a heavy amount of coverage sent into the newspapers by the teams themselves.

RQ2: How did integration of major league baseball affect the nature of black press coverage devoted to the Negro league baseball?

Before Robinson came on the scene, there is evidence that as it campaigned for integration the black press was highly critical of the major leagues. About 69% of the sample major league coverage for the 1945 season was either somewhat negative or extremely negative. In 1946, with

[Table Four displayed here]

Robinson, Campanella, Newcombe, and Roy Partlow playing in the Dodger farm system, the tone of coverage reversed dramatically – 64% positive, 0% negative. That ratio held roughly steady through the 1947 and 1948 seasons, as well. Coverage of the Negro leagues, however, largely was positive throughout the period studied, with a negative tone detected in no more than 5% of stories for any one season. The amount of decidedly positive coverage, however, did diminish over the four-year period. An intercoder reliability score on this measure of 81% is an indication of how difficult it is to determine tone and bias.

Applying Carroll's Scorecard, the mean coverage scores were six for each league, which, according to the Scorecard rating system, is described as "supportive." The distribution of

[Figures One and Two displayed here]

scores, however, reveals higher scores for major league coverage than for Negro league coverage, especially in 1947. About 20% of major league coverage that season scored a nine or a ten, which is described as "boosteristic" in this study, while only 10% Negro league coverage reached those levels during the 1947 season. In 1948, the percentages dropped to 15% for the major leagues and zero for the black leagues. This, too, is almost directly inversely related to coverage in the beginning of the period, 1945, when 13% of Negro league coverage in the sample achieved scores of nine or ten compared to none for the major leagues. T-tests of both indices – NL Score and ML Score – indicated statistical significance at .000.

Discussion

This study has sought to measure in meaningful ways black press coverage of both the Negro leagues and major leagues during a period of tremendous transition, 1945-1948. The issue is important in understanding of role of the black press in achieving integration, as well as of its

often conflicted relationship with and coverage of Negro league baseball. The data show the shift in coverage to major league baseball and away from the Negro leagues during the period studied, which is not surprising. The seeming speed and totality of the shift, however, is a surprise. The downward trend in amount of coverage of Negro league games, events, and people intersects in 1946 with the upward trend for the major leagues, reversing in a period of four years the majority-minority status of the two leagues.

It was a qualitative shift, as well, with the columns of *Courier* sports editor Wendell Smith and *Defender* sports editor Fay Young, for example, mirroring the overall shift in coverage. Smith's redeployment is not surprising. A champion of integration and tireless crusader for it, he was an advocate of Robinson's since the player's college days. He accompanied Robinson to spring training and, during Robinson's first year in Brooklyn, on many of the Dodgers' road games reporting and filing columns from Dodger stops in St. Louis, Chicago, and Cincinnati. The data also show a sharp increase in the number of columns Smith and Young devoted to baseball in general and, specifically, the major leagues.

The data highlight the conflicted relationship of the black press and baseball. The two were intertwined to varying degrees throughout the existence of the black leagues. Since before the founding of the Negro National League by Gus Greenlee in Pittsburgh in 1920, "black newspapers performed the duties of a league governing body" (Debono, 1977, p. 44). When the NNL needed arbitration to settle disputes between its often-contentious owners, it looked at one point to W. Rollo Wilson, a sportswriter for the *Courier*, even briefly naming Wilson league commissioner (*Pittsburgh Courier,* 6 April 1930). Only the black papers carried game results and statistics, albeit incompletely. They served as a kind of "public message board for opposing managers to announce challenges" (Debono, p. 45). The *Freeman,* Indianapolis' black

newspaper from 1884-1927, like other papers, frequently gave space to black baseball's luminaries, including players, managers, and owners. Cum Posey, owner of perennial Pittsburgh champion the Homestead Grays and secretary of the Negro National League, frequently wrote first-person columns in the sports pages of the *Courier*, a newspaper in which Posey was a stockholder (*Courier*, p. 12).

The black press and the Negro leagues were brothers in the fight for equal opportunity in baseball for more than a quarter-century. On the field and in the papers they fought for a fair chance based on the merits of a ball player's skill and not his skin color. This brotherhood, with its origins in the very founding of the Negro leagues, produced for most of organized black baseball's history a close working relationship. When the shared goals began being realized, however, the bonds loosened. With integration, the need for the Negro leagues was suddenly a diminishing one. Even the name – Negro League – was a reminder of separate, second-class status.

The Baltimore *Afro-American's* Sam Lacy said he knew integration would spell the Negro leagues' doom, but that after Jackie, "the Negro leagues was a symbol I couldn't live with anymore" (Reisler, p. 13). The coverage during the period studied reflected this position. With Robinson, Doby, Paige, and others driving up attendance, black papers ran longer stories on major league action (see Table 3) and more often included photography (see Table 2). It was not uncommon for the *Courier* to feature Dodger games with six or more photos on an interior sports page during Robinson's first two seasons. During the 1947 season, the *Defender* featured baseball on its front page on six occasions, all six breaking major league stories. This paper provides evidence of dramatic quantitative and qualitative shifts in coverage by the black press

of Negro league baseball, often in general proportion to changes in coverage of the newly integrated major leagues.

Throughout its history, the impact of baseball on American society has been dramatic, and it has reflected major themes in American cultural and social history. The manner in which the press covers these themes is important, both to readers at the time and, later, as historical artifacts. The study of press coverage of baseball is an important aspect of in the study of journalism. A history of the sport's coverage is, among other things, a history of coverage of American social issues and concerns, from immigration to economic development to race relations.

Future research is needed to elaborate the influence of the black newspapers on their readers in terms of league support for the Negro leagues, the major leagues, or both. Traditional agenda-setting theory could be applied, seeking to examine the influence of mass media on the black community's focus of attention vis-à-vis the integration of baseball, who and what they were thinking about (McCombs, et al., 1997). Additional content analysis research also is recommended examining the framing techniques found in the *Courier*, *Defender,* and other black papers before, during, and after integration and the demise of the Negro leagues. Economics, used to argue both for and against baseball's integration, is a frame worthy of close inspection, especially since players often were exploited, by black and white owners alike, and because so many clubs have been owned and operated by media companies.

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Table 1: Number of issues dominated by league in terms of column inches of coverage (significant with chi-square < 001, d.f. of 6)

	1945	1946	1947	1948
Negro Leagues (No. of issues dominated)	24	19	10	10
	86%	68%	36%	36%
Major Leagues (No. of issues dominated)	4	7	17	16
	14%	25%	61%	57%
Both Leagues (equal) (No. of issues dominated)	0	2	1	2
		7%	4%	7%
Total	28	28	28	28
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 2: Number of stories by league by year appearing with at least one photo

		NL	ML	No. of articles
1945	No photo	121	12	133
	One or more photos	28	1	29
	Total no. articles	149	13	162
1946	No photo	171	56	227
	One or more photos	20	11	31
	Total no. articles	191	67	258
1947	No photo	102	52	154
	One or more photos	18	35	53
	Total no. articles	120	87	207
1948	No photo	110	65	175
	One or more photos	8	34	42
	Total no. of articles	118	99	217

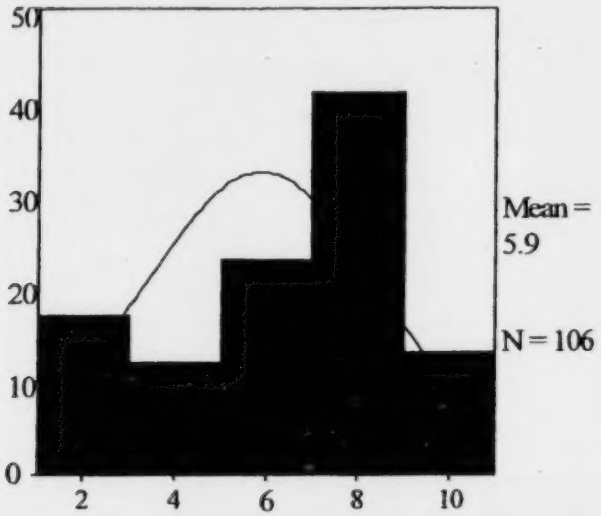
Table 3: Comparison of story lengths by league for entire period studied, 1945-1948

Primary Story Topic	Mean Length	Number of articles
Negro Leagues	5.1	578
Major leagues	8.3	267
Both ML & NL	9.8	13
Neither league	16	3
ALL coverage	7.2 inches	861 articles

Table 4: Direction of treatment per league by % of stories, 1945-1948
(Significant with chi-squares < .001; d.f.s of 16 for 1945, 12 for 1946, 10 for 1947 and 8 for 1948.)

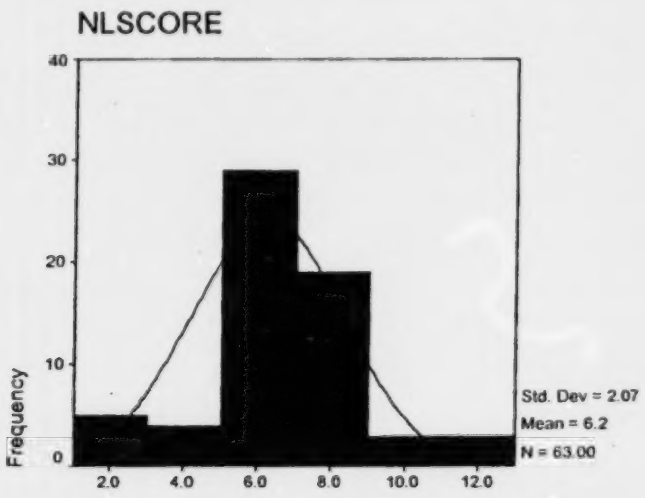
Year of publication	Direction of treatment	Negro Leagues	Major leagues
1945	Positive	23%	31%
	Negative	5%	69%
	Neutral	72%	0%
1946	Positive	10%	64%
	Negative	1%	0%
	Neutral	89%	36%
1947	Positive	7%	60%
	Negative	3%	2%
	Neutral	90%	38%
1948	Positive	14%	50%
	Negative	3%	3%
	Neutral	83%	47%

Figure 1: Carroll's Scorecard, major leagues



Scores for 106 major league articles
(No. of articles on Y axis, score categories on X axis)

Figure 2: Carroll's Scorecard, Negro leagues



Scores for 63 Negro league articles
(No. of articles on Y axis, score categories on X axis)

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Media Effect on Race and Immigration: Testing the Link

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Abstract

Martin Gilens concludes in his book *Why Americans Hate Welfare* (1999) that racial stereotypes play a central role in whites' attitudes about welfare, crime, and immigration. His content analysis suggests a link between the "darkening" of poverty in news and public perceptions, but fails to empirically connect the two. I test the putative link between race and immigration using 2000 NES data – specifically, whether media use is positively correlated to racial attitudes and attitudes about immigration spending.

Three years ago, Martin Gilens culminated years of research on race and poverty (1995, 1996a, 1996b) with his book *Why Americans Hate Welfare* (1999). He analyzed a wide range of surveys and experiments to explain the paradox of public opinion about the welfare state: Americans consistently say they want more government effort and higher levels of spending for almost every aspect of the welfare state. The exceptions are the means-tested programs of cash benefits – formerly Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), now Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) – and, to a lesser degree, the food-stamp program. Gilens argues that the white public is angry about these two programs because citizens view welfare as a program that rewards the undeserving poor, and they associate welfare with blacks. He says racial stereotypes play a central role in generating this opposition, and performs content analyses on visual images in newsmagazine articles and television segments to suggest a link between the "darkening" of poverty in the news and public perceptions. He further links whites' racial perceptions to the issues of crime and immigration.

Gilens' analysis appears very thorough with one major exception: He fails to empirically connect public perceptions and media use. In fact, he concedes that, "Unfortunately we lack direct evidence that the proportion of African Americans pictured in news stories on poverty shapes the public's perception of the racial composition of the poor." (p. 136) Corey et al (2000) attempted to remedy Gilens' oversight by analyzing American National Election Studies data from 1988, 1992, and 1994 to explore the putative link between media use, welfare attitudes, and attitudes towards blacks. They found that media appears to be unrelated. The purpose of this paper is to examine the putative link between race and immigration using 2000 NES data. Specifically, I explore

whether media use is positively correlated to racial attitudes and attitudes about spending to control illegal immigration. I propose an amended replication of the model of Corey et al in which attitudes on spending to control illegal immigration is a function of attitudes towards blacks, media usage, an interaction variable for black attitudes and media usage, a media-black interaction variable, and other control variables.

Literature review

Using data from the 1991 National Race and Politics study and others, Gilens shows that while blacks are a minority of both poor people (27 percent) and of welfare recipients (36 percent), the average American believes that blacks make up half of all the poor. The average American also thinks blacks comprise 23 percent of the total population, nearly twice the actual figure of 12 percent. As for welfare, he says, the popular view is that the rolls are bloated with undeserving recipients: Two of three Americans say most people on welfare are taking advantage of the system; only one in three believes most recipients really need help. Gilens offers a causal model with 11 predictors of welfare spending preferences: age, sex, region, education, marital status, family income, ideological identification, party identification, individualism, the perception of blacks as lazy, and the perception of welfare recipients are undeserving. The strongest predictor, he suggests, are whites' attitudes about blacks' work ethic, or the perception that blacks are lazy.

Gilens traces changes in popular images of the poor on network news and in *Time, Newsweek*, and *U.S. News and World Report* magazines from the 1950s to the 1990s to suggest the link between changes in whites' attitudes about the poor and media

coverage. While scientists began studying poverty in the late 19th century, Gilens says, blacks were ignored for the most part in research until the 1960s and were excluded in great numbers from assistance rolls in many states through a "suitable home" clause. Even when President John F. Kennedy implemented several antipoverty programs, Gilens says the dominant image of poverty was that of the rural Appalachian poor white. Poverty came to be racialized and popular images of poverty changed as the result of two trends, he says. One was the widespread migration of rural Southern blacks to the North. The second was the changing racial composition of AFDC as President Lyndon Johnson implemented his War on Poverty and civil rights leaders pushed for economic justice in the second half of the 1960s.[1] In an arresting chart based on his results, Gilens shows the poverty rate declining for the most part from 1950 to 1990 as the number of poverty stories increase, "darken," and become more negative.

From the beginning of the content analysis through 1964, most visual images of the poor were white. From 1964 to 1966, the proportion of blacks' pictures in poverty stories increased to 27 percent to 53 percent, then to 72 percent in 1967. Over 45 years through 1992, an average of 57 percent of the pictures in poverty stories were black, nearly twice as many as the true proportion. Perhaps more importantly, pictures of the black poor dominate when poverty coverage is most negative while the more sympathetic coverage uses pictures of nonblacks, Gilens' research indicates.

Gilens also reports the results of a "survey experiment" in which respondents were given a scenario of a hypothetical single mother welfare recipient; some were told

[1] Proportionately more white widows had been moved from Assistance to Dependent Children rolls starting in 1939 after the establishment of Social Security survivors' benefits.

the recipient was white, some black. The responses indicated the black version of the experiment was a greater predictor of welfare opposition that the white version.

Gilens is not the first to make such a claim about "race-coded" topics, though Reese (2001) says few have examined the issue in such systematic detail. Quadagno (1994) looks at race-coding from a historical perspective to suggest the link between race and social policy. Like Gilens, she says other social programs also have been racialized. Gilens mentions crime and immigration. Quadagno cites urban renewal, job training, and school choice as eliciting similar connotations.

Sears et al (1997) offer the general perspective of symbolic politics theory, which assumes people have strong, longstanding predispositions to certain attitudes because of socialization that can be evoked by appropriate political symbols. This perspective has largely displaced the "old" racism that was based on the idea of biological superiority. Instead, "presenting whites with racially targeted policies or black candidates should evoke that common antiblack element" (1997, p. 18). Three concepts are involved: racism is phrased in abstract and ideological terms (Sears and Kinder, 1971); it includes the beliefs that blacks should just work harder since racial discrimination is largely a thing of the past (Sears, 1988); and the perception of blacks' lack of work ethic blends with an antiblack effect (Kinder and Sears, 1981). Using four surveys over a decade in three policy areas, Spears et al found that controls on ideology don't weaken the effects of symbolic racism, and ideology had insignificant effects in general. They found the effect stronger than nonracial dispositions even among the college-educated. In direct opposition, however, are Sniderman and Piazza (1993), who contend that prejudice no

longer is the dominant problem of racial politics, but rather ideology and other nonracial considerations.

Gilens' thesis is in line with Gerbner's cultivation theory, suggesting strong media effects. Other experimental research has found race to be a predictor of frames (Kinder and Sanders, 1996, and Valentino, 1999). Previous studies have shown that visual elements in news are highly salient (Graber, 1990; 1987) and that the race of the pictured individual is a salient visual cue (Iyengar, 1991; Iyengar; 1987; Iyengar and Kinder, 1987). Iyengar and Kinder say the power of television rests on agenda-setting and "priming," or "defining criteria underlying the public's judgment" (p. 117). The two say television news is powerful (but limited) in setting some viewers' standards for judgments by priming certain aspects of national life while ignoring others. Iyengar also says individuals are influenced by how news presentations "frame" issues. He says, "When poverty is framed as a societal outcome, people point to societal or governmental explanations; when poverty is framed in terms of particular victims of poverty, particularly the homeless, people point instead to dispositional explanations." The findings of other researchers, including Domke (1999) and Pan and Kosicki (1996), support this view as well.

Entman (1995, 1994, 1992, 1990) defines framing as "selecting and highlighting some elements of reality and suppressing others, in a way that constructs a story about a social problem, its causes, its moral nature, and its possible remedies" (p. 142). Entman explores the concept of modern racism by examining television news and suggests that the way blacks are covered may have a different impact on whites than it has on blacks. He found nearly 60 percent of network news stories centered on negative news about

blacks. In his latest work (2001), he describes the pattern of crime and sports coverage of blacks in national news and blacks as victimizers and whites as victims in local news. Similarly, Van Dijk (1988) found that the media portrayals indirectly favor the stereotypical frameworks of interpretation. In a study examining newspaper articles about poverty and welfare since the 1996 implementation of TANF, Bullock et al (2001) found most articles to be neutral in tone, but with little to contextualize poverty or illuminate its causes.

But when it comes to gauging effects, results vary by methodology. Bartels (1993) notes the most convincing demonstrations of media exposure effects come from laboratory experiments, but concedes the method is limited with respect to external validity. On the other hand, nonexperimental literature on media effects usually report negative findings, he says. Using survey data, Bartels himself found media effects to be modest when adjusted for the effects of measurement error and that media exposure only occasionally produces strong, unidirectional opinion changes.

Race and Immigration

America has seen four major waves in immigration (Pedraza, 2000): the first of northwest Europeans in the mid-19th century; southern and eastern Europeans from the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century; the migration from South to North of African-Americans, Latinos and native Americans over the two world wars; and immigrants from Latin America, from 1965 to the present.[2] What essentially had been an open-door policy to immigrants gradually closed, starting with barring the Chinese in 1882, Asian Indians in 1917, Japanese in 1924, and Filipinos in 1934 (Lowe, 1996). King

[2] For a fuller account, see Muller and Espenshade (1985) and Timmer and Williamson (1998).

(2000) uses archival materials to suggest "the finely filtered regime of selection" (p. 1) was based on racial quotas and eugenic categories. Timmer and Williams (1998), who evaluated immigration policies in six countries, said the ethnic composition of the immigrants was clearly a factor in the politics of restriction, not only in America, but in other Western countries as well.

Yet, typically the research on immigration policy has split into two perspectives, with the dominant being political economy (Portes, 1997; Zolberg, 1981, 1987, 1989), or as New and Petronicolos put it, "reduce(d)...to simple cost-benefit analysis" (1997, p. 1) of issues like labor supply versus wages and limited welfare provision. The alternative is the examination of the sociology of the political system, in which race obviously plays a role.[3] Li et al (2001) found support for both sides – national economic concerns and prejudice and racism – in an experiment examining illegal immigration in the aftermath of California's Proposition 187.

The Immigration and Naturalizaton Act of 1965 (revised in 1986 and 1990), with its emphasis on family reunification, resulted in a major shift in the point of origin for immigrants away from Europe and towards Latin America and Asia. Each year, about 800,000 people immigrate legally to the United States, and at least another 200,000 illegal immigrants stay, according to the National Research Council (Smith et al, 1997). In 1990, 43 percent of immigrants came from Latin America and the Caribbean, 26 percent from Canada and Europe; 25 percent from Asia, and 6 percent from other countries. The report, commissioned by the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform, estimates that immigration will account for two-thirds of U.S. population growth by 2050

[3] Sciortino (2000) provides a critical review of immigration policy research that discusses the perspectives in detail.

if the current level continues, with Hispanics increasing to 25 percent of the total population and replacing blacks as the largest minority group. Eight percent is expected to be Asian.

Sanchez (1999) says immigration historians have started to recognize the critical role of race in "facilitating the adaptation of certain European newcomers to American society" (p. 1272), impelled by the growing field of "whiteness" studies (Roediger, 1991; Barrett and Roediger, 1997; Rogin, 1996; Sacks, 1994; King, 2000). Noting the relational concept of race rather than a biological or cultural one, these researchers contend that European immigrants assimilated by positioning themselves as "white." King says debates leading up to 1929 were couched in terms of desirable and undesirable immigrants, and immigrants such as the Irish and Jews eventually entered the labor market by exploiting whiteness as a source of power. Hochschild (1995) says these transformations were taking place as late as the 1920s: "(D)escendants of old-stock immigrants thought of southern and eastern European immigrants as a different race. But that language disappeared over the next few decades, in favor of an increasingly general category of 'white' or 'American' " (p. 243).

Although a few content analyses have been performed of news content about immigration (Hufker and Cavender, 1990; Miller, 1994; Simon and Alexander, 1993), Domke notes a gap in scholarship related to the link between mass media and race. Indeed, an issue devoted to "Immigration and Immigration Research in the United States" in the *American Behavioral Scientist* (1999) through the Social Science Research Council's International Migration Committee offers no view of the role of media or race in its eight studies.

Methodology

Data from the 2000 American National Election Studies were analyzed for this paper. The NES, conducted every two years by the Center for Political Studies of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan, provides individual-level data from a cross-section of the electorate in pre- and post-election interviews on a variety of topics. Because Gilens' thesis related to whites' beliefs about welfare, only the responses from whites, 1,393 cases, were analyzed.

I am replicating the model of Corey et al (with variations) in which attitudes about spending to control illegal immigration are a function of attitudes towards blacks, media usage, an interaction variable for black attitudes and media usage, a media-black interaction, and control variables. I hypothesize that respondents' feelings towards blacks should be inversely and strongly related to their views about spending to control illegal immigration. Additionally, if Gilens is correct, media use should be positively related to attitudes towards immigration control spending. The coefficient for the interaction variable between media and attitudes towards blacks should be positive.

Demographic and political attitude measures are included as controls in the models. Demographic variables include education, family income, age, and gender, and include the lifestyle characteristics of marital and homeowner status. Political variables include party identification, ideological intensity, political trust, political efficacy, and government activity (support for public-sector activity over free-market activity). I expect these variables will have significant effects on attitudes about spending to control illegal immigration.

Dependent variable

The respondent's attitude towards spending to control illegal immigration is the dependent variable, measured on a three-point scale. The question is "federal spending to tighten border security to prevent illegal immigration" should be increased, coded as 1; kept the same, 0; or decreased or cut out, coded as -1. The dependent variable is an ordered, three-point scale, so ordinal regression (ordered logit) was used for this analysis.

Independent variables: Media and blacks

Five independent variables are the focus of this analysis: Two questions on attitudes towards blacks, media use, and two interaction variables are designed to capture the effect of media on feelings towards blacks. The black feeling thermometer is measured on a scale that ranges from 0 to 100, with high scores representing positive feelings towards blacks. I hypothesize that a negative relationship will be seen between attitudes towards blacks and attitudes towards spending to limit illegal immigration; as attitudes towards blacks decline, the desire for more spending to limit illegal immigration should go up.

A second attitudinal question was used on whether blacks are "hard-working" or "lazy," similar to a measure used by Gilens, who argued that whites' attitudes on welfare depend on whether they believe the clients are "deserving" of help or "lazy." The variable ranges from 0 ("Blacks are lazy") to 6 ("Blacks are hard-working"). Because whites appear to link welfare to blacks, the attitude on blacks' work ethic should be negatively related to the desire to increase spending to limit illegal immigration.

Media is an additive scale of media usage, ranging from 0 (no media usage) to 14 (high media usage), based on responses to the questions: "How many days per week do you read the newspaper? Watch television news?" Additionally, the media/black interaction variable is designed to capture the effect of feelings towards blacks as media use increases. Finally, the media/hard-working interaction is designed to capture the effect of perceptions of blacks as hard-working as media use increases. I hypothesize negative relationships will exist between these three variables and the desire to increase spending to limit immigration.

Independent variables: Demographic characteristics

Six demographic and lifestyle variables are included as controls to measure preexisting attitudes toward immigration: education, family income, age, gender, marital status, and homeowner status. Education is measured as the highest level of schooling completed, ranging from 1 (eight grades or less) to 7 (advanced degree). Family income is measured on a 21-point scale, ranging from 1 (income below $4,999) to 21 ($200,000 per year or more). Age is measured in years, ranging from 18-97, with 97 representing 97 years or more. Gender is a dichotomous variable, with women coded as 1 and men as 0. Marital status is coded as 1 for married and 0 for all other respondents. Homeowner status is measured dichotomously, with 1 for homeowners and 0 for all other respondents. I expect a negative relationship between two of these and the independent variable – education and females – since education should have a liberalizing impact and because females are expected to have more liberal views. I expect positive relationships between the dependent variable and family income and homeowner status because of a possible

desire to avoid additional taxation. I predict positive relationships between age and marital status and the dependent variable since conservatism tends to increase with age and when one weds.

Independent variables: Political characteristics

Political variables include party identification, ideological intensity, political trust, political efficacy, and support for public-sector activity over free-market activity. Party identification and ideological intensity should be strong predictors of immigration attitudes since conservatives and Republicans are more apt to want higher spending to limit illegal immigration; I expect a positive relationship. Party identification is measured on a seven-point scale of 0 for strong Democrat to 6 for strong Republican. Ideological identification is measure on a seven-point scale, with 0 denoting strong liberal to 6 for strong conservative.

Four questions were combined through factor analysis to create the political trust variable: 1) How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right? 2) Do you think that people in government waste a lot/some/not very much of the money we pay in taxes? 3) Would you say the government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of the people? 4) Do you thing that quite a few/not very many/hardly any of the people running the government are crooked? The single variable resulting from factor analysis has an eigenvalue of 1.937, with a variance explained of 0.484. I hypothesize that confidence in government's ability to allocate resources will be positively related to support for increased spending to limit illegal immigration.

The political efficacy variable combines another four questions from the NES survey: 1) How much attention do you feel the government pays to what people think when it decides what to do?'2) How much do you feel that having elections makes the government pay attention to what people think? Respondents also were asked to rate their level of agreement with the following statements: 3) Public officials don't care much what people like me think. 4) People like me don't have any say about what the government does. The responses were coded as 0, a good deal; 1, some; and 2, not much. The eigenvalue of the combined variable is 2.187, with a variance explained of 0. 547. I hypothesize that higher efficacy levels will be positively related to immigration spending attitudes.

Finally, a factor analysis of three questions provides one variable to measure general attitudes towards government activity. Respondents were asked to choose between: 1) The less government the better vs. Government should do more. 2) We need a strong government to handle today's complex economic problems vs. The free market can handle these problems without government involvement. 3) The main reason government has become bigger over the years is because it has gotten involved in things that people should do for themselves vs. Government has become bigger because the problems we face have become bigger. The eigenvalue is 1.983, with a variance explained of 0.661. I hypothesize that support for an active government will be positively related to attitudes on spending to limit illegal immigration.

A significant amount of the variance in attitudes about spending to limit illegal immigration should be accounted for in models with these variables. Testing Gilens'

conclusions, media use should have a negative effect on the link between attitudes towards blacks and attitudes towards spending to limit illegal immigration.

Results/Discussion

Table 1 provides the results for the baseline model of support for spending to limit illegal immigration as a function of attitudes towards blacks, media usage, and control variables, excluding the two interaction effects. The pseudo-R^2, or the coefficient of determination, which represents the fit of the model to the data, is 0.121. Thus, 12.1 percent of the variance in support for spending to limit illegal immigration is explained by the model.

The intercept, or a, is –2.184, with a t of –4.051. It is highly significant at the 0.000 level. The intercept is the predicted value on spending to limit illegal immigration when all of the independent variables are zero.

The slope coefficient – indicating the relative impact of the independent variables on the dependent – for the black feeling thermometer is significant at the more modest level of 0.10 (b = –0.051, t = –1.319), but the hard-working blacks variable is highly significant at the 0.01 level (b = –0.168, t = –2.464). Both relationships are negative, which supports my hypotheses. This suggests that attitudes toward blacks are predictive of attitudes about spending to control illegal immigration. However, the media variable is not significant (b = –0.046, t = –0.526) although the direction is negative as expected, offering no support for Gilens' link of media to black attitudes and those on immigration spending. All are in the expected direction.

Three other control variables are in the expected direction and highly significant – education, age, and ideological intensity (liberal-conservative) – at the 0.01 level and one, party identification, is moderately significant at the 0.05 level. Education has a slope coefficient of –0.257 and a t of –4.724. Age has a slope of 0.019 and a t of 3.352. And liberal-conservative's slope is 0.213 with a t of 3.239. Party identification has a b of 0.072 and a t of 1.583. Thus, whites with less education, more income and those who are older are significantly more supportive of anti-immigration spending.

The findings for three other control variables were in the opposite direction from that hypothesized, but the results on these three were not significant, at any rate. Gender was positive while I hypothesized a negative relationship, indicating females were not as liberal as I had supposed. The homeowner variable results were negative when I suggested positive, suggesting those who did not own their residences were more supportive of anti-immigration spending. And the direction of the political efficacy variable was negative, when I had predicted positive.

Table 2 includes the two media interactions to no avail. Neither the media-black interaction nor the media-hard-working interaction is significant (b = 0.085, t = 0.203 for the former; b = 0.023, t = 0.032 for the latter). Additionally, the two interaction variables are in unexpected directions; the findings show a positive direction when I had hypothesized a negative relationship. Media usage alone also remains insignificant although the direction is negative as expected.

The significant variables remain the same as before – education, age, and ideological intensity – at the 0.01 level and party identification at the 0.05 level. All are in the predicted direction.

Once again, gender and political efficacy had results in the opposition direction from the hypotheses. Gender's relationship was positive when I expected negative, and efficacy the reverse.

Table 3 shows the parameter estimates of comparisons between high and low media use. This model offers a slightly different view and a better goodness of fit. The pseudo-R^2, or coefficient of determination, is 0.136 for high media use and 0.179 for low media use, indicating 13.6 percent and 17.9 percent of the variation of y are explained respectively. These are higher percentages than were found in Tables 1 and 2. Some variables are significant for high media use, but not for low media use, and vice versa. Only age and ideological intensity show up as significant in both high and low media use while media is significant in neither.

With high media use, education and age were found to be in the expected direction and highly significant at the 0.01 level ($b = -0.294$, $t = -2.978$; and $b = 0.027$, $t = 2.800$). Three other variables were significant at the more relaxed 0.10 level: hard-working blacks ($b = -0.203$, $t = -1.595$, and in the expected negative direction); liberal-conservative ($b = 0.151$, $t = 1.291$, and in the expected positive direction); and political trust ($b = 0.255$, $t = 1.590$, and in the expected positive direction).

It should be noted that political trust changed to a negative direction in low media use, although the finding was not significant. Another direction switch occurred with gender, in which the finding for low media use was negative as expected, but in the opposite direction for high media use. These findings also were not significant, however. Finally, the direction for political efficacy in both high and low media use was opposite

of the positive relationship hypothesized, although the findings were not significant, either.

Neither the black feeling thermometer nor the media results was significant in either the high or low media use categories. All the relationships were negative as expected, however.

With low media use, education remained highly significant (0.01) with a b of –0.353 and a t of –3.344, and in the expected direction. Three others are moderately significant at the 0.05 level: family income (b = 0.101, t = 1.971, and positive direction as expected); homeowner (b = 0.550, t = 1.668, and positive as expected); and ideological intensity (liberal-conservative) (b = 0.234, t = 1.880, and positive as expected). Party identification results were in the expected positive direction and modestly significant (0.10) with a b of 0.127 and a t of 1.391.

Realizing that many believe newspaper readers to be different in characteristics that television viewers, I decided to test a fourth model separating the two media, with the hypothesis that television use would be negatively related while newspaper use would be positively related. This expectation is based on the common view that regular newspaper readers are generally more well-educated and elite than are television viewers. The results are shown in Table 4.

The pseudo-R^2, or coefficient of determination, is 0.122, meaning that 12.2 percent of the variation of y is explained by the model. (This is basically the same as in Tables 1 and 2.) However, while five variables are in the highly significant range in this model and one is modestly significant, all in the expected direction, neither television usage nor newspaper usage is significant at all. Party identification is modestly

significant (0.10) with a b of 0.075 and a t of 1.640, with a positive relationship. Education (b = –0.252, t - –4.618) was highly significant at 0.000, with the expected negative relationship. Both the black feeling thermometer and the hard-working blacks variable are negatively related and significant at 0.01 (b = –0.054, t = –1.369; and b = –0.168, t = –2.462, respectively. Two others also were in the expected directions and highly significant at 0.01: age (b = 0.019, t = 3.395), and ideological intensity (b = 0.211, t = 3.203).

Yet no significant relationships were found between either television usage nor newspaper usage and attitudes on anti-immigration spending. Additionally, a positive relationship was found with newspaper use when I predicted a negative direction. And television usage, which is expected to attract more plebian tastes, was in the unexpected positive direction.

Once more, the variables for gender, home ownership, and political efficacy had findings in unexpected directions. Thus, males, non-homeowners, and those who presume less political efficacy were found to be more supportive of anti-immigration spending. But none of the three relationships was significant.

Conclusions

Ordered regression analysis (ordered logit) was performed on variables taken from the 2000 American National Election Studies to test Gilens' claim that media use is positively correlated to racial attitudes and attitudes about immigration, using an NES question on spending to control illegal immigration as the dependent variable. A baseline model was first tested without the two interaction variables. A second model added the

interaction variables combining media use and the black feeling thermometer along with media use combined with the perception of whether blacks are hard-working. A third model looked for differences between high and low media use with the baseline variables. Finally, the fourth model looked for significant differences between television and newspaper media users.

Attitudes about blacks were found to be significant in three of the four models on spending to limit illegal immigration, lending support for Gilens' position that negative attitudes about blacks are a strong predictor of "race-coding" issues such as welfare, crime, and immigration. The most consistent control predictors beyond black affect in all models were education, age, and ideological intensity. White citizens with less education, who are conservative in their political outlook, and older were found to be more supportive of increased spending to control illegal immigration.

However, media use was not found to be significant, whether tested separately (television and newspaper); jointly (media); between high and low users; or as an interaction with attitudes about blacks. I did find some difference in the directions of the relationships between television use and newspaper use, but these differences were not significant, either. Thus, I find fail to find support for Gilens' link of media portrayals of blacks to black attitudes and attitudes on "race-coded" issues.

I must concede that the question on immigration spending might not have been the best possible choice as a dependent variable, but I was limited to what had been used in a national study. That question was deemed to be the better of the two on immigration in the latest NES study. Subsequent research could be attuned to finding a better national

survey question choice. Additionally, more finely tuned media-use questions could be used.

Despite the evidence from previous researchers of the priming effect of television news and the correlated movement over time between attitudes about blacks and attitudes about welfare (and theoretically, to other "race-coded" issues), I, like others, have been unable to find direct evidence linking these characteristics with media use. This is not the final word on the subject, however. The key is probably in refinement of the survey instrument. Sears et al use factor analysis to look at equal opportunity, federal assistance, and affirmative action. Perhaps we should do the same with immigration, welfare, and crime. Further study also should include the Hispanic feeling thermometer since that group is the fastest-growing minority population, or perhaps a factor analysis of the Hispanic and black feeling thermometers. The possibility also cannot be overlooked that Bartels may be correct in saying that experiments are a better tool to measure effects. Perhaps, to extend his argument, an experiment is needed to seek the direct evidence as well.

Appendix 1: Description of variables

Variable	Description
(Dependent)	
Immigration control attitudes	Measured on the following scale: Federal spending to tighten border security to prevent illegal immigration should be increased, 1; kept the same, 0; or decreased or cut out, -1.
(Independent)	
Black feeling thermometer	Measured on a scale that ranges from 0 to 100, with high scores representing positive feelings toward blacks.
Media/black interaction	Media * black feeling thermometer; designed to capture the effect of feelings towards blacks as media usage increases.
Blacks are hard-working	Seven-point scale, ranging from 0 (blacks are lazy) to 6 (blacks are hard-working).
Media/hard-working interaction	Media * Blacks are hard-working; designed to capture the effect of perceptions of blacks as hard-working as media use increases.
Media	Additive scale of media usage, ranging from 0 (no media usage) to 14 (high media usage) based on responses to "How many days per week do you read the newspaper? Watch television news?"
Television use	Additive scale of television usage, ranging from 0 to 7 (days per week).
Newspaper use	Additive scale of newspaper usage, ranging from 0 to 7 (days per week).
Education	Highest level of schooling completed, ranging from 1 (eight grades or less) to 7 (advanced degree).
Family income	A 21-point scale of family income, ranging from 1 (income below $4,999 per year) to 21 ($200,000 per year or more).
Age	Age in years, ranging from 18-97, with 97 representing 97 years or more.
Gender	1 = women; 0 = men.
Homeowner	1 = homeowner; 0 = all other respondents.

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Married	1 = married; 0 = all other respondents.

Variable	Description
Government activity scale	Scale of support for government activity over the private sector or market activity, based on a factor analysis of responses to the following questions: 1) support for government doing more vs. government doing less; 2) support for free-marking handling complex economic problems vs. strong government handling those problems; 3) whether government has become bigger over the years because it is involved in things that people should do themselves vs. government has gotten bigger because the problems we face have become bigger. (Eigenvalue = 1.983; variance explained = 0.661).
Partisan Identification	Measured on a scale from 0 (strong Democrat) to 6 (strong Republican).
Ideological identification	Measured on a scale from 0 (strong liberal) to 6 (strong conservative).
Political efficacy	Scale of feelings of political efficacy, based on a factor analysis of responses to the following items: 1) How much attention do you feel the government pays to what people think when it decides what to do? 2) How much do you feel that having elections makes the government pay attention to what people think? Additionally, respondents were asked to rate their level or agreement or disagreement with the following statements: 3) Public officials don't care much what people like me think. 4) People like me don't have any say about what the government does. (Eigenvalue = 2.187; variance explained =0.547).
Political trust	Scale of feelings of political trust, based on a factor analysis of the following items: 1) How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right? 2) Do you think that people in government waste a lot/some/not very much of the money we pay in taxes? 3) Would you say that the government is pretty much run by a few big interests or that it is run for the benefit of all the people? 4) Do you think that quite a few/not very many/hardly any of the people running the government are crooked? (Eigenvalue = 1.937; variance explained = 0.484).

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Table 1. Parameter estimates for 2000 model of immigration attitudes without interactions

Variable	b	se	t	Prob.
Black feeling thermometer [-]	-0.052	0.004	-1.319*	0.094
Blacks are hard-working [-]	-0.168	0.068	-2.464***	0.007
Media [-]	-0.046	0.087	-0.526	0.299
Demographic/lifestyle characteristics				
Education [-]	-0.257	0.054	-4.724***	0.000
Family income [+]	0.017	0.023	0.735	0.232
Age [+]	0.019	0.006	3.352***	0.001
Gender [-]	0.137	0.153	0.897	0.185
Homeowner [+]	-0.073	0.185	-0.392	0.348
Married [+]	0.153	0.168	0.910	0.181
Political attitudes and characteristics				
Government activity [+]	0.109	0.090	1.210	0.113
Party identification [+]	0.072	0.046	1.583*	0.057
Liberal-conservative [+]	0.213	0.066	3.239***	0.001
Political efficacy [+]	-0.019	0.088	-0.217	0.414
Political trust [+]	0.063	0.086	0.729	0.233
Constant	-2.184	0.539	-4.051***	0.000

N = 758
Pseudo-R^2 = 0.121
Chi-Square = 97.349
Prob Chi-Square = 0.000

*** prob. < 0.01 (one-tailed test)
** prob. < 0.05 (one-tailed test)
* prob. < 0.10 (one-tailed test)

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Table 2. Parameter estimates for 2000 model of immigration attitudes with interaction effects

Variable	b	se	t	Prob.
Black feeling thermometer [-]	-0.052	0.004	-1.304*	0.096
Blacks are hard-working [-]	-0.168	0.068	-2.467***	0.007
Media [-]	-0.108	0.291	-0.373	0.355
Demographic/lifestyle characteristics				
Education [-]	-0.257	0.055	-4.705***	0.000
Family income [+]	0.017	0.023	0.730	0.233
Age [+]	0.019	0.006	3.354***	0.001
Gender [-]	0.135	0.153	0.881	0.189
Homeowner [+]	0.073	0.185	0.395	0.347
Married [+]	0.153	0.169	0.910	0.182
Political attitudes and characteristics				
Government activity [+]	0.109	0.090	1.215	0.112
Party identification [+]	0.073	0.046	1.589*	0.056
Liberal-conservative [+]	0.214	0.066	3.241***	0.001
Political efficacy [+]	-0.020	0.088	-0.224	0.412
Political trust [+]	0.062	0.086	0.724	0.235
Interactions				
Media-black interaction [-]	0.085	0.004	0.203	0.420
Media-hardworking Interaction [-]	0.023	0.071	0.032	0.488
Constant	-2.177	0.541	-4.026***	0.000

N = 758
Pseudo-R^2 = 0.121
Chi-Square = 97.405
Prob Chi-Square = 0.000

*** prob. < 0.01 (one-tailed test)
** prob. < 0.05 (one-tailed test)
* prob. < 0.10 (one-tailed test)

Table 3. Parameter estimates for 2000 model of immigration attitudes with high and low media use

Variable	High Media Use b	t	Low Media Use b	t
Dependent variable				
Attitudes about spending to control illegal immigration				
Intercept				
Black feelings [-]	-0.039	-0.495	-0.046	-0.670
Blacks hard-workg [-]	-0.203	-1.595*	-0.069	-0.564
Media [-]	-0.285	-0.893	-0.283	-0.637
Demographic/lifestyle characteristics				
Education [-]	-0.294	-2.978***	-0.353	-3.344***
Family income [+]	0.042	1.106	0.101	1.971**
Age [+]	0.027	2.800***	0.068	0.485
Gender [-]	0.178	0.645	-0.136	-0.447
Homeowner [+]	0.023	0.063	0.550	1.668**
Married [+]	0.286	0.932	0.079	0.032
Political attitudes and characteristics				
Party ID [+]	0.054	0.669	0.127	1.391*
Liberal-conserv [+]	0.151	1.291*	0.234	1.880**
Political trust [+]	0.255	1.590*	-0.105	-0.650
Political efficacy [+]	-0.085	-0.055	-0.125	-0.748
Gov't activity [+]	0.158	0.962	0.035	0.210
N		259		226
Pseudo-R^2		0.136		0.179

*** prob. < 0.01 (one-tailed test)
** prob. < 0.05 (one-tailed test)
* prob. < 0.10 (one-tailed test)

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Table 4. Parameter estimates for 2000 model of immigration attitudes with newspaper and television use

Variable	b	se	t	Prob.
Black feeling thermometer [-}	-0.054	0.004	-1.369***	0.009
Blacks are hard-working [-]	-0.168	0.068	-2.462***	0.007
Television use [-]	0.015	0.029	0.524	0.300
Newspaper use [+]	-0.036	0.028	-1.272	0.102
Demographic/lifestyle characteristics				
Education [-]	-0.252	0.055	-4.618***	0.000
Family income [+]	0.017	0.023	0.745	0.228
Age [+]	0.019	0.006	3.395***	0.001
Gender [-]	0.122	0.153	0.794	0.214
Homeowner [+]	-0.057	0.185	-0.310	0.378
Married [+]	0.138	0.169	0.820	0.206
Political attitudes and characteristics				
Government activity [+]	0.112	0.090	1.243	0.107
Party identification [+]	0.075	0.046	1.640*	0.051
Liberal-conservative [+]	0.211	0.066	3.203***	0.001
Political efficacy [+]	-0.028	0.088	-0.311	0.378
Political trust [+]	0.076	0.086	0.884	0.188
Constant	-2.254	0.516	-4.368***	0.000

N = 758
Pseudo-R^2 = 0.122
Chi-Square = 98.863
Prob. Chi-Square = 0.000

*** prob. < 0.01 (one-tailed test)
** prob. < 0.05 (one-tailed test)
* prob. < 0.10 (one-tailed test)

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Color Blindsided in the Booth:

An Examination of the Descriptions of College Athletes During Televised Games

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Presented at the annual convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, **Minorities and Communication Division**, August, 2002, Miami, Florida

Abstract

Color Blindsided in the Booth:

An Examination of the Descriptions of College Athletes During Televised Games

During televised sporting events, African American athletes often are characterized as purely physical specimens on the field or court and they are the recipients of negative references to their off-field activities. In contrast, White athletes more often are the recipients of a broader and more positive set of descriptors.

This research tested for the presence of racial bias in televised coverage of men's collegiate sports. Results showed that while African Americans have made some progress, biased coverage still exists. Suggestions for future research are included.

Color Blindsided in the Booth:

An Examination of the Descriptions of College Athletes During Televised Games

One of the major goals of racial equality is to create a "level playing field." In the world of sports, this reference to an athletic field is more than just an analogy, because many people believe sports are one aspect of American life where the field is level, where employment and retention are based strictly on performance. Since sports occur in an atmosphere where the pressure to win and the financial rewards are enormous, it would seem to be occupational suicide for an owner, manager or coach to jeopardize victory by bringing personal, race-based prejudices into play against an able-bodied athlete. In addition, since most professional and collegiate sports receive abundant media coverage, the public has greater opportunities to evaluate the true "levelness" of the playing field. In short, there would appear to be enough checks and balances in sports to ensure that the field is indeed as level as possible. But what if some of the checks and balances are not working as effectively as they could and should? And, does the content of media coverage actually help level the playing field, or does it serve to perpetuate a type of racial discrimination that plows ruts in the field?

For many years, professional and collegiate sports engaged in systemic and institutionalized discrimination. However, over the past 50 years, as professional and collegiate sports have abandoned their policies of discrimination, the percentages of African American athletes in the three major revenue sports of baseball, basketball and football have grown. African Americans comprise 13% of professional baseball players;

slightly higher than the 12% of the U.S. population that is African American (Racial and Gender Report Card, 2001). In professional football (67%) and basketball (78%), African Americans are represented at a rate far beyond that of the general population. Similar overrepresentation of African Americans appears in college football (46%) and basketball (56%) as well (Racial and Gender Report Card, 2001).

At the same time that African American representation in sports was growing, so too was television's coverage of professional and collegiate sports. Thanks to the development of satellite technology and cable television, and the growing popularity and marketability of sports, televised sports coverage has proliferated. Broadcasts of regular season professional baseball and basketball games, and collegiate football and basketball games average between two and five million viewers; and regular season broadcasts of professional football games average more than 13 million viewers (Person's Tracking Report, 1998). The numbers grow significantly when television airs playoffs and championship games in these sports.

However, at the intersection of these "growth spurts" lies a potential dilemma. Throughout its history, television repeatedly has been found guilty of unfavorable treatment toward African Americans (see Dates & Barlow, 1990; Dixon & Linz, 2000; Romer, Jamieson, & de Coteau, 1998; United States Commission for the Study of Civil Rights, 1977; United States Riot Commission Report, 1968). Often, television has chosen to under represent, many times to the point of ignoring, African Americans and the African American community. When television has endeavored to represent African Americans, the result has often been demeaning, stereotypical portrayals. So, in light of this, the question is: "Will an increased African American presence in sports and an

increased amount of television coverage equal an increase in the negative representations of African Americans?"

Several studies have investigated racial bias in television's coverage of professional and collegiate sports. While there has been both anecdotal and statistical evidence demonstrating bias, a clear consensus has yet to be reached. It is the intent of this research to build upon the previous work in an effort to arrive at a model that effectively and validly measures the presence, and form(s) that racial bias may take in televised sports coverage.

The value of such a study comes from examining the impact of televised sports coverage. According to McCarthy and Jones (1997), television and sport combine to form...

> {W}estern culture's most potent instrument of interpretation ...together with huge sporting audiences makes the mediated sports event a very powerful agency through which messages are constructed (p. 349).

Once the message is constructed, attention turns to its reception. Research has shown that television may enable viewers to construct a social reality based upon television's definition of reality as opposed to what is actually occurring in the world around them (see Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1980: Gross & Morgan, 1985). Consider that for most sports fans, watching the games on television is a ritual endeavor, one repeated several times over the course of a season. Along with the chance to cultivate world views derived from the coverage, the opportunity exists for a viewer to receive messages that, through repetition, become incorporated into what Squire, Knowlton, and Musen (1993) refer to as *semantic memory*, "a general knowledge about the world" (p. 459). If this *general knowledge* includes racial misperceptions, then the

possibility exists that exposure to these messages may affect impressions of, and attitudes toward, African Americans in general, and African American athletes in particular.

It is important to note that the potential effects are not confined to Whites' impressions of, and attitudes toward, African Americans. Tan and Tan (1979), among others, note that the combination of stereotyped portrayals, in conjunction with the expectations of others, may have negative consequences on the self-esteem of those within the stereotyped group.

Researchers have demonstrated a causal link between messages and audience response in sports coverage (for a review see Bryant & Zillman, 1991); and television news coverage including portrayals of African Americans (see Pan & Kosicki, 1996; Rada, 2000). This research does not endeavor to investigate the stimulus-response relationship between biased messages and audience reactions; however, these studies – especially when taken in conjunction with the numbers demonstrating the popularity of televised sports – clearly serve as a call for investigation into the content being transmitted via the televised coverage of sports.

The Sports Media and Race

Rainville and McCormick (1977) conducted one of the first investigations into racial bias in television's coverage of sports. The authors found announcers created a positive image of the White players by offering more play-related praise and portraying them as the perpetrators of aggression. In such a physically demanding sport as football, being the aggressor is seen as occupying a position of power. In contrast, African American players were often the subjects of unfavorable comparisons and references to

negative past achievements. The authors concluded that the announcers biased their coverage by stressing positive aspects of White players while stressing negative aspects of African American players.

Boston Globe reporter Derrick Jackson (1989) also investigated televised sports coverage, examining five professional football games and seven collegiate men's basketball games. Jackson found that African American players did receive positive statements, including praise, although such praise mostly was limited to statements regarding their physical prowess. On the other hand, White players received repeated praise for their cognitive abilities.

Rada (1996) found that announcers create a "Jekyll and Hyde" persona for African American professional football players. Announcers were quick to praise African American players for their on-the-field athletic ability, an ability most often attributed to God-given, natural talent rather than hard work; however, when describing African American athletes off the field, as *people* and not as athletes, the positive portrayals ended. Instead, African Americans often were described as lacking both intelligence and positive character traits. White players frequently received credit for both their athletic ability and their personal traits. In fact, when White players were praised for their athletic ability, it was because they were not only athletes, but thinking men as well. And, on those rare occasions when White players were criticized, the statements dealt only with mistakes on the field, mistakes clearly visible to viewers. Even then, announcers often were sympathetic to the White athletes, frequently providing excuses for their shortcomings.

McCarthy and Jones (1997) found similar patterns in coverage of soccer games that aired on British television. The researchers found that Black[1] soccer players were often praised for their physical abilities. In regard to their cognitive abilities, Black players did not receive more negative commentary than did White players, but they did receive a significantly smaller portion of positive statements about their intellect.

While previous research reveals the potential existence of race-based bias in televised sports coverage, as mentioned earlier, no consistent measures and methods have been used to study the question of whether or not televised sports coverage actually is racially biased. Based on previous research, Rada (1996) constructed an instrument, labeled the Biased Coverage Index (BCI), as a framework. Using that index and adapting it based on the findings of other research and commentary, the present study seeks to explore whether or not televised sports coverage of collegiate football and basketball games is racially biased.

The Present Research

Negative comments alone are not indicative of racial bias. Bias manifests itself through a combination of the *content*, and the *context* in which that content appears. If announcers are objectively describing the game, when a player makes a mistake, he deserves criticism. Thus, the analysis must center around *what* is said about *whom* and *how frequently*.

During live telecasts, there are usually two or three announcers in the booth describing the action unfolding on the field or court. The "Play-by-Play" announcer is charged with *describing* the play. The remaining members of the on-air crew, the "Color

Commentators," try to *explain* how and why the events occur and what they mean. It is important to note that on-air dialogue is not limited to game-related action. With a constant need to fill time during lulls in the action, these announcers often relate personal stories about themselves and the players. In addition, many telecasts also include a sideline reporter. This person usually is charged with providing insights as to what is happening on the field or court during the game, as well as often obtaining brief interviews with players, former players, coaches, family members of players, and others deemed relevant to the telecast.

Rada (1996) noted that the role of the announcers during sporting events is not clearly defined; however, it is clear that on-air talent do not simply report objectively on games. Instead, they comment subjectively and seem to go out of their way to offer praise. Hoberman (1997) notes that networks, often dependent on sports programming to build audience and revenue, have little interest in undertaking investigative journalism for fear of biting the hand that feeds them. Others also have noted that on-air announcers seem reluctant to offer much criticism in their commentary (McCallum & O' Brien, 1998; Wolff, & Stone, 1995; Stewart, 1990).

Based on previous research, the following hypotheses were developed:

H1: Announcers will make more positive statements than negative statements.

The results of Hypothesis 1 will provide a baseline for further comparison. If the announcers are overly positive in their commentary, on those occasions when they do choose to criticize, bias can be detected by analyzing *to whom* this criticism is directed.

H2: African American players will receive more negative comments than will White players.

Once the frequency of who receives the positive and negative commentary has been determined, the next step is to turn to *the what*: What is the context of such comments?

H3: African American players will receive more comments pertaining to physical attributes than will White players.

While the results of previous research has led to this prediction, the literature does not provide enough evidence to draw conclusions about the direction—positive or negative-- of such comments. Thus, even though the present research sought to code all comments for positive or negative attribution, no hypothesis dealing with this relationship is offered. However, consistent with previous findings, this research does expect to find that positive and negative comments referring to a player's intellect will break down along racial lines.

H4: White players will receive more positive comments pertaining to cognitive ability than will African American players.

H4a: African American players will receive more negative comments pertaining to their cognitive ability than will White players.

As was mentioned earlier, Rada also discovered that there was a distinct divide when it came time to distinguish the *player* from the *person*. In referring to off-field events and activities, announcers were more likely to use the opportunity to paint a negative picture of the African American athlete.

H5: White players will receive more positive statements about their character than will African Americans.

H5a: African American players will receive more negative statements about their character than will White players.

H6: White players will receive more positive personal-interest stories than will African Americans.

H6a: African American players will receive more negative personal-interest stories than will White players.

Method

This research examined televised coverage of men's Division I-A collegiate football and basketball games. The football portion of the sample is comprised of college football games that aired during the 1998 regular season. The sample of basketball games is comprised of CBS's coverage of the 1999 Men's Division I-A Championship Tournament, an event often referred to as "March Madness."

There are several reasons for choosing televised coverage of collegiate sports as the sample for analysis. First, there are over 100 teams in Division I-A Football and 64 teams chosen to compete in the Men's Basketball Tournament. This means more opportunities to cover different teams from different regions with different demographic compositions. Second, television networks covering collegiate football often provide "regional" coverage. This means certain games are available in specific parts of the country. Comparing coverage of games available in different regions provides the opportunity to explore for a broad-based cultivation effect.

The final reason collegiate sports was chosen comes from examining the results of previous research. Many researchers have found racially based differences between the

frequency of statements made regarding a player's cognitive abilities. In addition, televised coverage of collegiate athletics, where the players are *student-athletes*, should provide more opportunities for announcers to discuss a player's intellect – both on and off the field.

To gather a sample of college football games, Rada's (1996) method for collecting a composite game was used. Each week, one quarter of a game from each of three networks—ABC, CBS and ESPN—was taped. The first week, the first quarter was taped; the second week, the second quarter, and so on. Thus, at the end of every four-week cycle, one complete game consisting of four quarters, but involving different teams in each quarter, was obtained from each network. This sampling method resulted in a total of 19 quarters, or four and three-quarters composite games.[2]

One of the two broadcast networks that cover collegiate football during the regular season, ABC, offers regional coverage. For this sample, two regions were taped: the "Southeast"[3] region, which aired on the networks' Atlanta affiliate; and the "Far West" region, which aired on the network's San Diego affiliate. Nationally, ABC's broadcasts average approximately six million viewers per week. For the two regions selected, viewership averaged between one and 1.25 million viewers (National Audience Demographics, 1999). CBS offers both national and regional coverage. Nationally, CBS's broadcasts averaged approximately three and a half million viewers. Regionally, the broadcasts averaged between 300,000 (Far West) to over one million (Southeast) viewers.

The only national cable network that covers college football that was included in this study is ESPN. Its broadcasts averaged approximately one million viewers per week (NSS National Audience Demographics, 1999).

A total of 63 games are played in Men's Division I-A Championship Basketball Tournament. During the first three rounds, coverage is offered on a regional basis, plus, during coverage of a game, there are frequent "break-ins" that provide bonus coverage of other games. For the regional finals, national semifinals and national final, nationwide coverage is offered. Unlike football, the entire tournament is covered by one network. However, because the tournament is broken into four different regions, the coverage still provides the opportunity to evaluate four different announcing crews (a total of 12 announcers). Approximately 55 hours of basketball coverage was included in the sample. The audience for the tournament averaged just under five million for the preliminary rounds to more than 17 million for the championship game (Final Fours Play to the Crowds, 1999).

To investigate for the presence of biased coverage, this research adapted the Biased Coverage Index (BCI) employed by Rada (1996). The first portion of the BCI deals with basic, demographic-type information: the network, talent's role (play-by-play, color, or sideline), talent's race, the player's race, and the player's position.

The second portion of the BCI relates to the specific comments being investigated. One category that was removed from the original BCI was that of *play-related praise/criticism*. Since statements in this category were usually just recitations of events unfolding on the field or court, the opportunity to introduce bias is minimized. The remaining categories in this portion of the BCI focus on descriptions of the player as

an *athlete*. The first of these categories is *physical attributes*: those statements relating to a player's physical characteristics—strength, size, speed, etc.

It is important to note that since size is relevant in both football and basketball, statements that provide only a player's "dimensions" were not coded; however, when the description included more than a player's dimensions, the statement was coded. For example, in reading the starting lineups for each team, the announcers will usually give the height of basketball players and the height and weight of football players. Thus, saying "Smith is six-five, 330 pounds" would not have been coded. But, if the announcer added something like "At six-five, 330 pounds, Smith is huge" that would be coded into this category (For an example of statements coded into each category, see Tables 1 and 2). The second category of player-as-athlete comments is *on-field intellect*. These are statements that describe an athlete's intellect in relation to, or as a reaction to, the events unfolding on the field or court.

The next portion of the BCI was comprised of three categories that analyzed announcers' descriptions of a player as a *person*. The first of these categories was *off-field intellect*. These are statements describing a player's academic or other off-field accomplishments. The second category is *character reference*. Any statements referring to a player's character were coded into this category. The third, and final category of player-as-person comments is *personal interest*. At times during the broadcast, the announcers fill time with personal interest stories about a player.[4]

Clearly, the opportunity exists for an announcer's comment to fall across more than one of these categories. For example, a statement such as "Jones is a great story; he's the fifth of six children, all of whom have gone on to college and achieved academic

excellence" combines elements of both personal interest and off-field intellect. In cases such as these, the two coders discussed the statement to determine which of the categories best represented the dominant theme of the statement.

Table 1 – Representative Positive Comments by Category

Physical:
- [Player] is a load – 260 pounds.
- He's strong enough to take him down with that big right arm of his that looks like a tree trunk.
- He has great legs, great quickness and tremendous leaping ability.

On-Field Intellect:
- Smart play – he knew the defender was coming, so he threw it away.
- [Player's] so smart – the ability to find holes in the defense.
- Absolutely a wise foul – he was going for the ball.

Off-field intellect:
- [Player] the punter – he's also an excellent student.
- [Player] has one degree and is working on another one … extremely bright young man.
- Has a three point two GPA in international business.

Character:
- He's pleasant, affable, a soft spoken athlete.
- [Player's] unselfish – willing to sit the bench and let others start for the benefit of the team.
- [Player] was Mr. Indiana basketball, yet overlooked by big schools – maybe because he wasn't big enough. But they didn't realize how much heart and how much work ethic he had.

Personal Interest:
- He's also an actor (they then featured a clip of his acting) – he's a tremendous talent on and off the field.
- [Player] growing up on the family farm in North Dakota – family needs him on the farm, but they don't want to stand in the way of his dream of playing ball.
- He's an art and computer graphics major … he's a piano player – he also works with the computer graphics team that run the scoreboards at [school's arena] … and also at [school's stadium].

The last portion of the BCI is the *comment attribute*, whether or not the statement was positive or negative. Any statement that was seen as criticizing some aspect of a player, or casting a negative light on a player was coded as negative. Those statements that were seen as praising a player or presenting a favorable impression were coded as positive. If a statement did not appear to present a definitive positive or negative angle, it

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was coded as neutral. All games were taped and coded by two senior researchers. Intercoder reliability was better than 95% for all the variables included in the dual analysis of a sub-sample of games.

Table 2 – Representative Negative Comments by Category

Physical:
- [Player's] quick enough to grab the rebound, but he doesn't have the strength to put it back up.
- He's trying to do more than he's capable of doing.
- He is not really that strong physically.

On-Field Intellect:
- Look at [player] – he's looking at his wristband and he's looking at the route, looking at the options and obviously he forgot what he did – too much going on.
- He's showing that he's only a sophomore – inexperienced and nervous.
- He's a freshman, what a time for a breakdown in concentration.

Off-field Intellect:
- After successful first two years on court, [player] had academic difficulties and was suspended by [coach].
- [Player] had some academic problems at [high school] so he spent his senior season at [school]. They have an unbelievable record of taking kids who are in academic difficulty and turning them around.
- [Player] a junior out of Baltimore – he was recruited by [school] but his grades weren't good enough.

Character:
- Some guys have a hard time getting it all together – they have a hard time marching with everyone else – [player's] one of those guys.
- He's had an interesting off court session at [school] – two DUI's, suspended, but now he's back.
- Trying to intimidate [player] with a cheap shot.

Personal Interest:
- A greeting for [player] -- if you want to call it a greeting. [Player] a Louisiana native out of Baton Rouge first recruited and signed with [school]. Later, his recruitment process landed [school] on probation and they're still bitter about that … blaming [player].
- [Player] who did have some severe suspensions laid on him this year – an altercation in the [school] game this year.
- [Player] is in the ballgame after sitting out the first quarter for his unexcused absence on Thursday.

Results

A total of 486 comments were coded—151 statements came from football games and 335 from basketball games. Of the comments coded, 330 fell into the categories of physical attributes, cognitive attributes, character and personal interest. Of the remaining

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comments, 125 were coded as leadership/credit(not included in this analysis), 23 did not fall into any of the established categories, and 8 were directed toward players who were neither African American nor White. Since this number was too small to allow for adequate comparison, these cases were included in the overall results, but not in the breakdown by racial categories. Of the players who were recipients of an announcer's comments, 74% were African American and 24% were White.

Ninety-one percent of the comments were made by White announcers, and all but one coded comment was made by male announcers. Seventy-two percent of the coded comments were made by Color Commentators, 27% by Play-by-Play announcers and 1% by other announcers.

No significant relationship was found between the network and the comment attribute, or the player's position and the comment attribute. Nor was there a significant relationship between the announcer's race and the comment attribute. However, a significant relationship was uncovered when looking at the talent, the player's race and the comment attribute.

Color Commentators made 75% (N=305) of the positive comments compared to 25% (N=98) from the Play-by-Play announcers. The breakdown of negative statements shows that the Play-by-Play announcers made a significantly higher than expected percentage of negative statements (N=20 or 42%) compared to their representation in the sample (X^2 = 6.7, df = 1 p = .01, Φ = .12). Of those 20 negative statements made by Play-by-Play announcers, all of them were directed toward African American athletes (X^2 = 8.7, df = 1, p = .003, Contingency Coefficient = .18).

One other significant relationship was discovered. Color Commentators made a significantly higher percentage of comments relating to physical attributes (N=139 or 83%; $X^2 = 25.4$, df = 1, $p < .001$, $\Phi = .27$) and on-field intellect (N=67 or 87%; $X^2 = 13.1$, df = 1, $p < .001$, $\Phi = .19$). Play-by-Play announcers made a significantly higher percentage of comments pertaining to off-field intellect (N=16 or 84%; $X^2 = 28.8$, df = 1, $p < .001$, $\Phi = .29$), character (N=13 or 48%; $X^2 = 4.83$, df = 1, $p = .03$, $\Phi = .12$), and personal interest (N=32 or 74%; $X^2 = 47.3$, df = 1, $p < .001$, $\Phi = .37$). This relationship held true when controlling for positive and negative comments.

Hypotheses

Based on the previous research, Hypothesis 1 stated that announcers would be more likely to provide positive commentary. Hypothesis 1 was supported. Of the 463 comments for which coders were able to determine a positive or negative attribute, 89% (N=413, t = 76.7, df = 462, $p < .001$) were positive.

Once it was determined that the announcers were more willing to be positive in their commentary, attention turned to *who* received the few negative comments. Hypothesis 2 stated that African American players would receive a significantly higher proportion of the negative comments than would White players. Hypothesis 2 was supported. African American players were the recipients of 92% (N=45) of the 49 comments coded as negative ($X^2 = 8.4$, df = 1, $p = .004$, $\Phi = .15$). In anticipating the results expected when testing Hypothesis 3, data was submitted to another chi-square – this time controlling for statements relating to physical attributes. The results showed an

increase in both the significance and the strength of relationship ($X^2 = 29.9$, df = 1, $p < .001$, $\Phi = .42$).

The remaining hypotheses investigated the relationship between specific comments, the comment attribute, and to whom comments were directed. Table 3 provides the results for these tests.

Hypothesis 3 stated that African American players would receive more comments pertaining to physical attributes. Hypothesis 3 was supported. African Americans received 154 comments relating to physical attributes. That accounts for 92% of the comments within this category, a percentage significantly higher than that (N = 15 or 8%) for White players ($X^2 = 36.6$, df = 1, $p < .001$, $\Phi = .32$).

Hypothesis 4 stated that White players would receive more positive comments pertaining to cognitive attributes. Hypothesis 4 was not supported. Overall, African Americans received 57 (71%) comments related to their on-field intelligence and 15 (79%) comments related to their off-field intelligence. These numbers are in line with African American representation in the sample. For comments coded as positive referring to on-field intellect, African Americans received 34 (61%) and White players received 22 (39%). For comments coded as positive referring to off-field intellect, African Americans received 7(64%) and White players received 4 (36%).

Table 3 – Specific Comment by Player's Race by Comment Attribute

	Player's Race	
	African American	White
	N (% Within Comment)	
Comment: (Total N = 330)		
Physical Attributes		
Total	154 (91)[a]	15 (8)[a]
Positive	148 (92)	13 (9)
Negative	3 (60)	2 (40)
On-field Intellect		
Total	57 (71)	23 (29)
Positive	34 (61)	22 (39)
Negative	23 (96)[a]	1 (4)[a]
Off-field Intellect		
Total	15 (79)	4 (21)
Positive	7 (64)	4 (36)
Negative	8 (100)[b]	0[b]
Character		
Total	12 (46)	14 (54)
Positive	10 (42)[a]	14 (58)[a]
Negative	2 (100)	0
Personal Interest*		
Total	21 (61)	15 (39)
Positive	12 (44)[c]	15 (56)[c]
Negative	8 (100)[c]	0[c]

a = sig at .001
b = sig at .05
c = sig at .005

*One statement was coded as neutral

Hypothesis 4a stated that African American players would receive more negative comments pertaining to cognitive attributes. Hypothesis 4a was supported. African Americans received 23 (96%) negative comments pertaining to on-field intellect while

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White players received only one (4%) negative comment (X^2 = 10.1, df = 1, $p < .001$, Φ = .36). In looking at comments pertaining to off-field intellect, African Americans were the recipients of *all* the negative comments (N = 8, X^2 = 3.67, df = 1, p = .05, Φ = .44).

Hypotheses 5 stated that White players would receive more positive comments pertaining to their character. Hypothesis 5 was supported. The results showed that White players did receive a significantly higher proportion of the positive comments pertaining to their character (14 or 58%; X^2 = 13.9, df = 1, $p < .001$, Φ = .22).

Hypothesis 5a stated that African American players would receive more negative statements pertaining to their character than would White players. Hypothesis 5a was not supported. There were just two negative comments made in reference to a player's character. While both of these comments were directed toward African Americans, the difference was not statistically significant.

Hypothesis 6 stated that White players would receive more positive comments relating to personal-interest stories. Hypothesis 6 was supported. White players received a significantly higher proportion of the positive comments relating to personal interest stories (N = 15, or 56%; X^2 = 7.78, df = 1, p = .005, Φ = .47).

Hypothesis 6a stated that African Americans would receive more negative comments related to personal interest stories than would White players. Hypothesis 6a was supported. Of the 8 negative statements referring to a player's character or personal interest, all 8 were directed toward African Americans (X^2 = 7.78 df = 1, p = .005, Φ = .47).

Directed Analysis of Sub-Sample

In a supplemental analysis, the authors sought to find some aspect of the sample that would permit a direct comparison of a reasonably equal number of statements directed toward African American and White players. A selection taken from the sample of college football games provided this opportunity.

Table 4 – Comments by Player's Race – Sub-Sample of Quarterbacks

	Player's Race	
	African American	White
	N (% Within Comment)	
Comment: (Total N = 45)		
Physical Attributes		
Total	18 (90)[a]	2 (10)[a]
Positive	18 (95)	1 (5)
Negative	0	1 (100)
On-field Intellect		
Total	18 (90)	2 (10)
Positive	8 (80)	2 (20)
Negative	10(100)[b]	0[b]
Character		
Total	1 (50)	1 (50)
Positive	1 (50)	1 (50)
Negative	0	0
Personal Interest		
Total	1 (33)	2 (67)
Positive	1 (33)	2 (67)
Negative	0	0

a = sig at .01
b = sig at .02

In the 19 quarters of college football games included in the sample, with two quarterbacks per game, there were a total of 38 quarterbacks. Of this number, 20 were African American and 18 were White. Since the quarterback is the leader of the offense,

a position often associated with greater intelligence, this provided an opportunity to examine whether this study's hypotheses held true for a relatively equal sub-sample.

While the sub-sample did not provide enough comments to allow for the testing of all of the hypotheses, there were enough comments to test Hypotheses 3, 4 and 4a. Hypothesis 3 stated that African American players would receive more comments pertaining to physical attributes than White players. As Table 4 shows, while African American quarterbacks comprised 53% of the sub-sample, they received 90% (N = 18) of the comments pertaining to physical attributes (X^2 = 12.82, df = 4, p = . 01, Contingency Coefficient = .47). Thus, as it relates to the sub-sample, Hypothesis 3 was supported.

Hypothesis 4 stated that White players would receive more positive statements pertaining to cognitive attributes. This proved not to be the case. Instead, African Americans received a significantly higher proportion of positive on-field intellect statements (N = 8 or 80%; X^2 = 11.78, df = 4, p = .02, Contingency Coefficient = .50).

Hypothesis 4a stated that African American players would be the recipients of more negative comments pertaining to cognitive attributes. As it relates to on-field intellect, this hypothesis was supported. African Americans received *all* of the negative comments (N = 10) pertaining to on-field intellect (X^2 = 11.78, df = 4, p = .02, Contingency Coefficient = .70).

Supplemental Analysis

The chi-square analyses used to test the hypotheses revealed several significant relationships between a player's race, the type of comments he received and whether those comments were positive or negative. To further explore these relationships, an

attempt was made to determine whether it was possible to predict the race of the player based on the type of comments made about him. Data was submitted to a discriminant analysis. The player's race was the dependent variable and the specific type of comment and the comment attribute were entered as independent/predictor variables.

The analysis yielded four significant relationships. The strongest relationship came from comments relating to a player's physical attributes. The positive correlation between physical attributes and a player's race shows that if a statement was made that referred to a player's physical attributes, statistically speaking, we can predict that the player is African American ($r = .69$ $p < .001$).

The second significant predictor was comments relating to a player's character. If the statement referred to the player's character and the statement was negative, we can predict that the player is African American ($r = -.40$, $p < .001$).

The third significant predictor was the comment attribute. Overall, if the statement was negative, we can predict that the player is African American ($r = -.32$, $p = .002$).

The final significant predictor was personal interest stories about the player. If the statement was a personal interest story about the player and the statement was negative, then we can predict that the player is African American ($r = -.30$, $p < .001$).

Looking at the group centroids provided by the discriminant analysis also revealed one other significant finding. Variables were dummy coded so that they would fall within a continuum where a positive statement equaled 1.0. The group centroids for White players (.95) shows the proximity between this group and the positive end of the continuum. In contrast, the group centroids for African American players (-.30) reveals a

significant difference between this group and both the group centroids for White players and the positive end of the continuum. These results show that, statistically speaking, if a statement is negative, it is almost always directed at an African American player.

Discussion

In modifying Rada's Biased Coverage Index (BCI), this research sought to bring some coherence to the study of racial bias in televised sports coverage, as well as to see if the biases that have been found in the past continue today. Previous research into televised coverage of professional and collegiate sports has found that announcers engage in racial bias by creating a positive image of White players and a mostly negative image of African American players.

In examining more than 75 hours of televised coverage of collegiate football and men's basketball games, this research found some consistencies and some inconsistencies with previous findings. White players are no longer the exclusive holders of the positive images created by the announcers. This research revealed no statistically significant differences across race for positive comments referring to a player's cognitive attributes. But, as demonstrated by the findings, White players still receive positive comments relating to their character and personal interest stories at a rate significantly higher than their representation in the sample. Thus, this research shows that African American players may have made inroads, but they clearly have not achieved equality – at least in the eyes of the announcers.

Some encouragement may be drawn from the fact that African American players appear to have broken the stranglehold White players had on positive imagery. Unfortunately, the celebration must be tempered somewhat based on the continued existence of categories in which African American players are still the clear title-holders.

The present research hypothesized that African American players would be given a disproportionate amount of credit for their athletic abilities. That proved to be the case. Whereas African American players comprised 74% of the sample, they were the recipients of a significantly higher percentage (91%) of the comments pertaining to physical attributes. Statements of physical prowess comprised the majority (57%) of those comments received by African American players. Crediting an athlete's physical abilities or attributes is not, in and of itself, a form of bias, of course. Indeed, in the arena of competitive sport, such comments can be definite compliments; however, restricting compliments for African American players to their physical prowess while not restricting praise for White players continues the practice of unequal coverage.

While it appears that announcers will not hesitate to praise players of either race, the same cannot be said for the announcers' willingness to offer criticism. Of the 49 statements that were coded as negative, 45 (92%), were directed toward African Americans. As Rada (1996) found, when announcers criticize White players, they do so only when it can't be avoided, namely those times when the White player's shortcomings are evident to viewers. Once again, this was the case. Of the four negative statements directed toward White players, one did not fit into any category established by this research. The remaining three statements were made in reference to the White athletes'

physical abilities or on-field intellect. Statements such as these were made in response to some aspect of the events unfolding on screen before the television audience.

When it came time to describe the African American players, the announcers' criticism knew no bounds. Of the 24 negative statements describing a player's on-field intelligence, all but one were directed toward African Americans. Of the 18 negative statements made about a player's off-field intelligence, character, or personal interest stories, *all* 18 were directed toward African Americans. This is strikingly similar to Rada's (1996) study of televised professional football games that found all 18 negative comments in almost identical categories were directed toward African Americans.[4] The impact of these findings is amplified when looking at the Phi's and Correlation Coefficients. For all of the categories, these strength of relationship measures exceeded .30, and in some cases exceeded .40.

One more illuminating finding comes from the ability to *predict* the race of the player based on the type of comment. When Rainville and McCormick (1977) conducted their research into racial bias, it was noted that one of the authors, who was blind, was able to distinguish the race of a player based strictly on the announcer's description. The discriminant analysis employed by this research provided a similar scenario. The results showed that when a statement refers to a player's physical prowess, or is critical of the player in any way, even without looking at the television, we can predict that the player is African American.

This research asserted that bias is defined by *what* is said about *whom*, and *how frequently*. The results of this research lead to the conclusion that racial bias is still present in televised coverage of collegiate sports. To be fair, announcers did direct a

wider scope of positive commentary to African American players than had been done in the past. Previously, African Americans were mostly described as purely physical specimens on the field. In this research, that portrayal was expanded to include some praise about their cognitive abilities; however, such praise was diluted by the overwhelming percentage of negative comments directed toward African Americans. In stark contrast, not only were White players virtually immune from criticism, they were praised at a rate well beyond their representation in the sample.

This paper began by referring to the concept of a "level playing field." The results of this research provide data to help assess whether or not the field in televised sports has leveled out. While it seems that the doors of membership in the once exclusive club of positive imagery have opened a bit for African American athletes, the opening is slight, and the privileges are restricted. In contrast, African Americans hold almost exclusive membership in the club of negative imagery. In fact, it is particularly striking to note that as announcer comments about African Americans move further away from a player as an athlete, and more toward a player as a person, the positive imagery declines. For White players, the exact opposite is the case.

Suggestions for Further Research

Future research should attempt to go beyond the raw numbers and look into what meanings are conveyed through the descriptions offered by announcers. In addition, future researchers also should explore the possible effects these messages might have on viewers. As mentioned earlier, television has the power to transmit ideologies. Considering the fervent following of sports coverage, the possibility exists that ideologies

transmitted by the announcers may cultivate attitudes among the viewers. Now that the research has begun to consistently and reliably find repeated patterns of bias, it would be enlightening to more closely examine and attempt to deconstruct the specific texts that serve as manifestations of this bias.

The possible cultivation of perceptions and misperceptions, plus the possible modeling of pro-social and anti-social behavior would seem to warrant scholarly investigation. In light of such potential effects and considering the immense amount of televised coverage and viewership of professional and collegiate sports, it is time to explore such relationships.

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[1] For purposes of consistency, throughout the text, the authors employ the term "African American." The term "Black" is used here because this is the term employed by the research cited. The term African American would not be appropriate because the athletes in the study were not American, but British.

[2] The sample yielded an actual total of 20 quarters. One quarter was removed from the results of the study and used for testing inter-coder reliability.

[3] The designations of "Southeast" and "Far West" are those given by the networks.

[4] The previous research did not break down cognitive attributes into on-field and off-field intellect. In addition, the category of "speculation" was included in the previous research – a category left out of the present study.

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